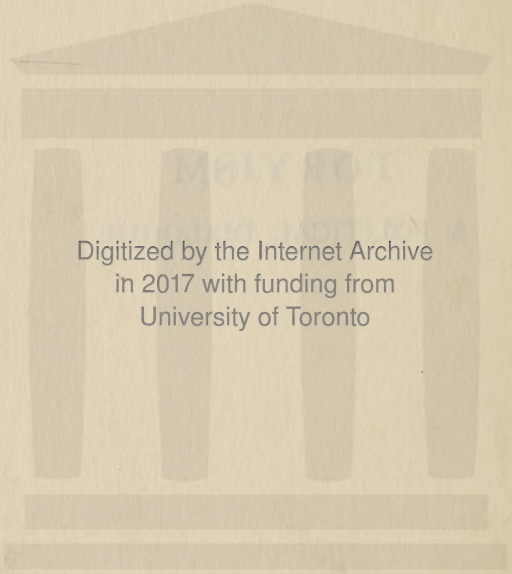
TORYISM

A POLITICAL DIALOGUE



TORYISM

A POLITICAL DIALOGUE

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
THE RT. HON. F. E. SMITH, K.C., M.P.

"THEY have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace. We looked for peace, but no good came: for a time of health, and behold trouble! The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved. Is there no balm in Gilead? is there no physician?"

JEREMIAH viii. 11, 15, 20, 22.

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TO

C. F.

"THERE is a dayspring in the history of this nation, which perhaps those only who are on the mountain-tops can as yet recognise."

DISRAELI, *Sybil.*

THE SPEAKERS

EDWARD FRANKLIN. A man of means and leisure : a Tory on principle.

HENRY ARTHUR, M.P. A whip ; by training a Whig adopted by the Conservative Central Office. By profession a broker, and the idol of the Primrose League.

LORD JOHN ELLINGHAM, M.P. A cynic of noble birth : prejudices apart, a real Tory.

RICHARD BELLINGER. A " Tory democrat " with a leaning to tactics. A sincere Imperialist, but otherwise essentially a Radical.

Scene—The library in Franklin's house.

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE been asked, and have gladly agreed, to write a short introduction to Mr. Feiling's dialogue upon Toryism. A long introduction would be superfluous, for Mr. Feiling's *dramatis personæ* explain their respective points of view with great lucidity. It is not, indeed, surprising that many loyal supporters of the Unionist Party should be found murmuring with Lord John Ellingham that there have been four years of the new finance, and that yet the pendulum will not swing. If not a final, it is perhaps a partial answer, that the data are somewhat incomplete for the foundation of a dogmatic judgment upon the extent to which, if at all, the pendulum

has already swung. But as an artist Mr. Feiling is undoubtedly right when he makes his characters critics and analysts, and, at moments, pessimists. All oppositions are conducted in an atmosphere of dissatisfaction. The longer the period of opposition the more acute does the dissatisfaction become. And the leaders of the Opposition are apt, except in the very hour of victory, to attract an undue measure of that responsibility which very often belongs not to them, but to the very spirit and fibre of the Party which they lead. It often, for instance, happens that the nation becomes quite genuinely tired of Conservatism as, at other periods, it equally does of Liberalism. In both cases it is probably right. Each Party requires for its health the correction and the vicissitude of the other. And when we find ourselves tempted, as some of Mr. Feiling's characters obviously do,

to criticise leaders, we may remember of Disraeli, whom we now reverently approve as the inspired fount of Tory wisdom, that a distinguished statesman recalled in my presence an excited division in the House of Commons in which nine out of ten of the great man's supporters were whispering: "We shall do no good while he leads us." And we may remember of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, that a week before he took office it is extremely doubtful whether he securely counted upon Mr. Asquith, Lord Haldane, or Sir Edward Grey. And we may remember that Mr. Borden, the powerful leader of Canadian Conservatism, underwent, in the long days of adversity, a crisis even more acute under the goad of ardent hopes so often disappointed.

In truth, the analysis to be fruitful must go deeper than the measuring of

personalities, and here Mr. Feiling's little dialogue appears to me to be subtle, penetrating, and fruitful. The Tory Party is like a broad stream deriving its strength from, and depending for its existence upon, many confluent tributaries. In determining policy the weight of every ally must be considered if his support can be secured without the sacrifice of principles which are vital. This is not opportunism; it is common sense. A larger net political result consonant with true Tory doctrine is attainable if we adopt a generous and catholic standard, than could be attained if we exorcised, for instance, either the Lord John Ellingham or the Richard Bellinger from the Party. If Ellingham or Bellinger separately could procure sufficient support to govern England, there would be no reason why either should consult or cooperate with the other. But as there

is no immediate prospect of such a development, the two can, in co-operation and by the exercise of mutual forbearance, safeguard now or hereafter a great many interests to which both alike attach extreme importance.

On the whole, it appears to me that Mr. Feiling has held the scale equally between the disputants. But I must venture to indicate what, with or without justice, I note as an exception to this wholesome spirit of impartiality. I should conjecture, from internal evidence only, that Mr. Feiling is not in special sympathy with that section of the Party, inconsiderable neither in influence nor in numbers, which he describes in the well-known phrase as "Tory democrats." I found this opinion upon the fact that Bellinger, the representative of this school in the dialogue, seems to me to meet throughout with

the fate which Dr. Johnson reserved for the "Whig Dogs." Bellinger shows, it appears to me, less vivacity, less initiative, less perseverance, and less flame than the other characters. Indeed, he is condemned by his silence, and I find myself continually complaining as I read through this vivid and stimulating dialogue:—"What an opening, if only he had taken it, that observation gave to Bellinger."

But these are small criticisms, and are, no doubt, coloured by my own views or prejudices. It is more important to claim that no section of the Tory Army can read this little volume without discovering in it the material for fruitful thought.

F. E. SMITH.

TORYISM:

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E. It must be ten years since we four were all together.

A. And what a ten years it has been! Four lost elections, four years of the new finance.

E. And yet the pendulum will not swing.

F. I am not a politician, and I always wonder if it will ever swing of itself, or whether it does not need some assistance.

E. I doubt if the Party are giving it any assistance. But perhaps you do not think, A., that we can blame ourselves as a Party?

A. I don't think so, but the fact

that I find so disconcerting is the extraordinary apathy of modern politics. We pipe to them and they will not dance.

E. And they won't till you call a different tune.

B. Let us be honest with ourselves: the old Toryism is dead.

E. Who killed Cock Robin ? Was it you, A. ?

F. I think it was *felo de se.*

B. The old Toryism is one of the outworn beliefs that hang on to cumber a newborn earth. What place shall we find for it in an age of unrest, scepticism, speed, experiment ? Tell me that, and I will hold fast to it.

F. Before we condemn Toryism as inconsistent with progress, we had better ask what progress means in common acceptation.

B. It seems to mean material prosperity, entire toleration of all persons and all causes, and the open

door to every race, every Church, every communication.

F. I take your criterion. The essence of it is toleration, go-as-you-please. But are we so certain that the fruits of this policy are entirely good ? Those who condemn the ancient laws commanding church attendance or enforcing Sunday observance, are faced now by unbelief and materialism : did the material burden of the old régime approach in weight the mental turmoil of the new ? In a hundred ways I could illustrate what I hold to be true—that even wrong belief is better for a people than unbelief.

A. That is a hard saying ; it means that Torquemada was a greater benefactor to mankind than Voltaire.

F. It means that faith is the greatest thing in a nation. So long as men are found to " know what

they fight for and love what they know," so long there will be a place in the world for Toryism. There is a point where toleration is a sin; at that breach stands Toryism. There is a standard of conduct beneath which a great nation cannot fall; there is the need of Conservatism. There is no need to fear for the existence of Toryism; the difficulty is to lead it against the true enemies.

A. Is there any doubt on that point? My prayer has been lately, "Save me from my friends."

B. You have none, A.; there is no doubt on that point.

E. So long, then, as partisanship exists in the world, so long will there be a place for Toryism. Is that your view?

F. Yes, if you frame it differently, and say that so long as good and evil exist, so long will Toryism live.

For a Tory must in a sense be a Manichee: he must believe that some things are evil. That is why Toryism will always enter into the problems of to-morrow; for there will be always some men—what is more, there will always be elements in every man—that look for something to cleave to, something not selected at will from the choice commended by public opinion or human authorities, but some "fixed and lasting mark that looks on tempests and is never shaken."

E. And yet there seems no demand for the fixed mark: perhaps it is not visible in dead calm.

B. Of course, calm is hardly the word I should use. Labour politics are terribly wideawake.

F. Yes, but the genuine political questions of the old sort—Home Rule, Disestablishment, Adult Suffrage—no longer kindle the electorate. If

you ask me to explain it, I will point to the empty churches—empty of men at least—and ask you how you can expect a burning zeal in political questions if religion grows Laodicean or cold.

A. The French are keen politicians.

F. Even if they are, English Party politics rise from another source than the French. Religion and differences on religion were the spring of them; the Reform Bill agitation of 1832, the Anti-Corn-Law-League, the Anti-Home Rule feeling of 1886, were all inspired by a very perfect religious feeling, or at least by an *odium* truly *theologicum*. Remove religion as the general background of the popular mind and you leave the main chance, expediency, and the desire to let people have what they want if they shout enough for it: trouble is the essence of religion, but to save trouble the object of modern politics.

E. But there has been acute feeling at some elections, surely ? They fell on the House of Lords hip and thigh, and smote them in their hedges and ditches.

F. The motive was not the reformation of the House of Lords, but the preservation of the Budget. But I believe that our failure to arouse the people to enthusiasm in our programme can be referred to a more general phenomenon in the politics of an old people—the fact that in such politics there are two stages ; the first is the period of struggle for political power, the second the struggle of the victors to use that power as they please. These stages overlap, but the distinction is clear. That is how I interpret the political history of the country for the last eighty years. The first Reform Act put the middle classes in power, and they proceeded to vote themselves

municipal power, lower rates, and cheaper food; the second added an electorate who insisted on free education for all; the third enfranchised the proletariat, who have perceived in the twentieth year of Liberty that power is in their hands if they care to use it, and have set up in the last seven years, old-age pensions and insurance for themselves, legal irresponsibility for their Trades Unions, payment for their members, and free meals for their school children. That is why Home Rule interests none but the Irish, and Disestablishment none but the Welsh: they are steps to political dominance, but not part of the social war that now holds the people's mind.

A. Do you put it so high as a social war?

F. The old order of society is not going to fall without a struggle, and this long series of rearguard actions

delays the swift action of the people's programme. So we have "unrest," which is enormously accentuated by the contrasts and comparisons that on every side catch the people's eye. The vast prosperity of the Empire as a whole and the new contact with the growing democracies of the Dominions make it harder for them to bear; and the situation is all the more dangerous, because it coincides with a new state of things in Europe and a new environment for the Empire. As in all changing Empires, the centre of government is being violently affected by the influx of ideas and currents that set in from the extremities, and, as once at Rome, the metropolis of Empire is no longer its only economic and commercial capital.

E. But do you suppose that the Party leaders are not aware of all this?

F. My grievance against them is

twofold : in public they either deny the existence of the evils that the people proclaim, or they use the wrong weapons to meet the charge. A demagogue cannot live on air : real grievances alone can explain his existence. And if the people complain of social wrongs, it is useless going to the country on a political programme. But you represent the official Conservatism here, A.; let us hear on what general principles your Conservatism is based.

A. On the defence of property and our ancient institutions.

E. "Property, property, property —that's what I 'ears 'em saäy."

F. Do you seriously propose to appeal to an industrial electorate, who do not own the property they make, on a cry like that ? Will you make the cotton-spinners weep for the Peerage or the railwaymen sigh for the sorrows of Ulster ? Will the rob-

bery of God's Church in Wales wring the hearts of the unemployed who cry out in vain to God and are not regarded of man ?

A. You mistake me—we do not merely stand on the defensive—we have an aggressive policy. When we carry Tariff Reform——

E. Then the tall chimneys will smoke, and every peasant shall have a fowl in the pot, and God will speed the plough. Is that it ?

F. Well, let's keep off Tariff Reform for the moment ; but you are in touch with the Party machine ; tell me honestly, doesn't it strike you that Conservatism in this country gleams like " that untravelled world whose margin fades " for ever as we move ? Can't you feel the Party turning uneasily in its sleep, waiting for a new dawn or a pillar of fire to guide ?

E. Remember it is A.'s profession to deny everything ; but speaking as a

humble instrument or cog in his machine, I feel that the root of the matter is not in us.

F. No wonder! for the great Conservative Party has spent the last six years in tearing itself up by the roots to see how it was growing!

B. But the other Party is the same. Surely it is one of our difficulties that we are no longer fighting the old Liberal Party.

F. Therefore you mean the Party must endue itself with new weapons to meet a new enemy? It is true the enemy is new—it is not Liberalism now, it is the Revolution. But let me tell you it is not the Revolution that has swallowed the Liberal Party——

B. Who have, then?

F. We have—the Tory Party has. Can't you see that this is its greatest danger; can't you see that in their fear of the revolutionary exploitation of the State's Powers, the Tories have

adopted the Whig, the negative, the ostrich-like attitude of standing on the individual's rights ? All history bears out this constant menace to the Tory cause; that, as its late enemies flee from the offspring of their principles into the Tory camp, they bring their principles with them. The extension of Toryism weakens its spiritual power.

A. This is beyond me; do you suggest, for instance, that the Liberal-Unionist Party has weakened the whole Conservative cause ?

F. I suggest things much older and deeper than that. What was the origin of Toryism—not as a creed, for that is as old as the hills of the East, but as a set of political principles, upheld in the government of this country and commanding the allegiance of a Party ? It began in the development of that sense of loyalty and that idea of law that blossomed under the Tudors ; it won the support

of the great official caste that made modern England out of a mediæval scrap-heap. With Shakespeare, Hooker or Bacon, broad or charitable, with Elizabeth or Strafford ruthless and worldly-wise, with Falkland tender, with Laud narrow, with Clarendon legal—whoever its leaders, Toryism was a creed that had for its articles the Crown, the State, the Church, the Law—all bound together in one wonderful order. See what followed. At various times great bodies of opinion have joined themselves on to the original Tory principles: first it was the High Churchmen; then the Divine-Right men under Charles I.; then the embittered Restoration Cavaliers, who, beaten in war, made a desert of England by proscribing their enemies and calling it peace; then it was the Jacobites who, beaten in counsel, sought satisfaction in conspiracy; then the

Leicester House Whigs and the King's friends, who would sacrifice the prestige of the Crown and the genius of Chatham to success at the polls; then the Anti-Revolution Whigs who weighed so heavily on the second Pitt; then the bourgeois Whiggism of Peel; and there let us leave it. But in each case the same thing has happened; with each new accession to the Party, welcome though it be, some inevitable deflection of policy is made, and some new demand, some ancient and discordant prejudice, some price of a bargain is superadded; till the Toryism of to-day is far indeed from its first principles, which lie hidden beneath a mosaic of contradictory policies and secular discrepancies, and it will need a master-workman to find the pit from whence they were dug.

E. Spade work never seems to me the strongest point in our Party, with due deference to you, A.; we shall

have to throw something overboard, I suppose——

F. Yes, for the ship is top-heavy. Indeed, I would base the whole of my quarrel with modern society on that metaphor: on one small country lies the whole weight of governing the Empire; on one comparatively small class the whole burden of taxation; on the insecure basis of freedom of imports a vast superstructure of credit and finance; on the peace of the seas the life of forty million people; on one small mercenary army the defence of an Empire. Two things we must do for this country and the same for Toryism—find the true base of our ancient polity and then broaden it to suit our new needs.[1] I am a Tory, but I am very curious to hear from each of you why you are: the first

[1] "A State without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation."—Burke, *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

reason for being a Tory that you give to yourself in your more honest moments.

A. I am, because Toryism means Tariff Reform.

B. Toryism is the only real Democracy—that is my reason.

E. I am a Tory because I hate Radicals, and all that nonsense about the workers.

F. I see: one of you is a Tory because he exalts an economic expedient into a political principle — a second because he thinks Toryism and Democracy are compatible, and another because he hates Mr. Lloyd George and dislikes strikes. Now, would you call yourselves three pretty typical Tories?

E. Well up to sample, I think.

F. I dare say, but we shall take a long time playing ourselves in on your stock-in-trade. If we are to be a Party, we must have a creed, and a

creed it not a mass of prejudices, tempered by acceptance of facts you dislike : a creed means positive beliefs on which one's salvation is staked, and anathema to one's opponents.

A. You must have give and take in politics.

F. All we do is to give away Tory institutions and take Radical measures.

A. Well, if Toryism is not a programme but a creed, let us hear its articles.

F. If you really want that question answered, I must begin far back. I associate Toryism with every element of permanent value in the life of a nation—above all, in the life of England. Every man, from the nature of man, loves his home, loves the work of his hands, loves his country. Every man, too, needs the help of his fellows, needs some agency to mediate between him and his God, needs law—on these affections and on these needs

I stake the Tory cause. Toryism is permanent; Liberalism, accidental. Toryism is rooted in the facts of nature or in Divine revelation; Liberalism is founded on assumption and human pride. Take some of the hypotheses of Liberalism: they are half bad history, half worse science. The strength of it, no doubt, is the doctrine of equality. We needn't go back into the history of that, need we? It's enough to say that the valid claim of philosophers and the New Testament, that men are spiritually equal before God who made them all, has become a claim that men must be equal politically and economically. However you gloss it over, the root of democracy is individual equality; "since you and I are equal, we must have an equal share in government." Rousseau's argument, that those who are excluded from government form no part of the State, amounts to saying

that the ballot-box makes the State. If this holds good, the Suffragists are right, and no true Liberal can refuse the vote to women.

E. Is there a true Liberal left ?

F. That, of course, is open to question. It is probably no good our discussing the principles of the Revolution, Liberty, Equality, and the rest, for one cannot say that nineteenth-century Liberalism was influenced by them nearly so much as by other and coarser forces. Benthamism—the greatest happiness of the greatest number—a sort of rule of thumb, of expediency based on the counting of heads — that is the philosophy of modern Liberalism. Mr. Pickwick, you will remember, on meeting two crowds, used to "shout with the largest."

A. But, my dear F., do you believe that minorities are always right ? Without being a democrat, I think

that His Majesty's Government must be carried on.

B. I am a democrat—a Tory democrat——

F. That is a contradiction in terms, but go on.

B. And I think you must trust the people.

F. That altogether depends on who "the people" are. If the people mean the homeless, down-trodden thousands whose existence is allowed by the Tory half of you, then I won't trust your Democracy. No, without being a mystic I do maintain that deference to the larger number of heads is not a political principle—it is a political device. We must start with our principles, not find them on the hustings; we must draw them from within us and above us, not from about us.

E. At any rate not from below us: when B. says "trust the people," he

really means "take their ideas on trust."

B. There is no permanence for a Party without it.

F. In any case there are, as I maintained before, certain permanent elements in man's nature and a nation's life; a people that can fight its own battles—a people that can love its country and its God—a people that can suffice to itself—a happy people, well-armed, well-fed, well-housed,—to these desired results certain political principles will always lead. That is why I say Toryism is permanent.

A. But why is Liberalism accidental?

F. Some of its doctrines certainly are. Liberalism is, on the whole, anti-clerical, Liberalism hates landlords, Liberalism believes in taxing the unearned increment. But because the Church at one time made religious

dissidence mean political disfranchisement, because there have been game laws and enclosures, because crushing ground rents in big cities are a crying scandal, must we conclude that Toryism is an evil doomed to disappear with those things? Those are only the accidents of a false Toryism, for Toryism is not bound to maintain everything established.

E. It is bound to preserve pheasants.

A. The preservation of game employs a healthy rural population.

F. So do His Majesty's prisons, but neither is vital to Toryism. Liberalism, then, has fed on the accidents of Toryism. Remove those accidents and Liberalism dies. There are signs of it already. The changes of property in Ireland have altered the whole character of the Liberal enthusiasm for Home Rule. It is no longer the wrongs done to a down-trodden

peasantry that are given as the moving cause, it is the congestion of the Imperial Parliament, a matter of expediency and machinery. A Party that lives on the blunders of its opponents is doomed.

E. "I am happy when I know my neighbour's vice," Meredith says somewhere.

F. Yes, a good motto for the modern Liberal. The Liberal's happiness consists in applying his own panaceas to the misery of others; but, since in his opinion you must count heads, he takes the panacea that is cried loudest and calls it "the will of the people."

B. My dear F., you go on high-falutin' about counting heads; do tell me if you believe in majority rule or not?

F. No real Tory can believe that a nominal majority has a right to do what it pleases; for, after all, a nation is made up of countless minorities.

Every great trade, every landed interest, every Church, every class has a right to existence. A Tory cannot believe that the majority of one generation have a right to destroy or plunder an institution or a class that preceding generations have set their faith in. Take the case of the Church in Wales. Thousands of individuals, centuries ago, believed so much in this Church that they endowed it with property: thousands of persons now who belong to it say that such a property is a necessary condition of its spiritual efficiency. On what ground of morals can a majority of those outside that Church condemn it? Are you to take any property given to the service of God because the majority of people of one generation think they could find a better use for it? The phrase "trust the people" must carry with it Rousseau's gloss, that "the people may be corrupted."

The great changes in the life of the people are carried by the acclamation of all good men. No honest man but believes that the liquor traffic does some harm, and both parties agree on it; all honest men recognise the evils of high ground rents, and both parties concur; all honest men hate sweating, and Liberals and Tories combine to remove it: but, if you have an earnest and a large minority, if the majority cannot say that positive harm is being done, but only that in their opinion more good might be done in some other way, if there is not one of those unmistakable national instincts to change, that we all know in our conscience—then I say that a majority may not force a minority to acquiesce.

B. You make me very uncomfortable, F. I am not sure that your Toryism would have commended itself to Disraeli. Perhaps, if you deny the possibility of Tory Democracy based

on the will of the majority, you hark back to Young England.

F. I don't think I do.

E. Don't you believe in "the gentlemen of England"?

F. Well, when I read Dizzy's novels and his dreams of Young England led by brilliantly cultured and deeply religious nobles, I fancy I do.

E. When I spend a week-end at certain houses we know of, I do. There is no bother about it: if you must go to church the church is next door, and your host reads the lessons; and I like that—it gives me a sense of vicarious goodness. No, there's nothing wrong about it—all the people seem pleased to see you. They know their place—"Haunt of ancient peace," you know, and all that.

F. I am ready to admit, E., that a week-end at an English country house is the pleasantest thing I know, but any one with the historic sense (and if

we have not got it no one else has) must be conscious, as he walks from the great house across the park to church, that this pleasant good life has been bought very dear.

A. I suppose you are harping on the enclosures again? You won't convince me that small holdings can pay.

E. Let me tell you, F., what I feel about current politics. Take my family: we are not bad for an aristocracy: we have sent generations of men into the services, and we lost two in the war: we know more about the land than all the Small Holdings Commissioners yet born, and our tenants have nothing to complain of. We sit in the House for nothing, we sit on the Bench for nothing, we run the Territorial force of the county for nothing: our rents drop, but we keep up the estate. Yet we are held up as the land monopolists and the enemies of society: we do all the work of the

county and we get all the kicks, while fellows who live on foreign investments in Park Lane hold up righteous hands to heaven. Do you wonder that we sometimes blaze out, even in indiscretions ?

B. Is there not another side ? Some of us who know the Empire can contrast the freedom of the small farmers of Canada and Australia with the picturesque insanitation and the cottage famine of rural England : we, no more than you, want to be ruled from Trafalgar Square, but we do look askance at Belgravia. You cannot shirk the question : you own the land, and what have you done with it ?

E. With the land behind us, we have made the Empire.

B. No. The peasants leave the land behind them and they make the Empire.

F. Remember what the history of England means since 1500. A few

hundred families have given us Parliamentary Government, won India, made and ruled the Empire, united the Kingdom, subdued Ireland, beaten Rome, Spain, France—that's the credit side, though every one would not admit it. But the means they used to these great ends and the wage they took for these heroic tasks weigh heavy on us now. Deliberately or by the forces of circumstance they dissolved the monasteries and took their lands, broke up the guilds and seized their wealth, in two hundred years evicted the yeomanry, made the name of England stink in Ireland, and broke the power of the Monarchy that had created them. It wasn't Henry VIII. who made a good thing out of the monasteries, it was the Protestant nobility. The victors in the Civil War were men like the highly constitutional and orthodox Lord Saye and Sele, who was fined in the Star

Chamber for evicting peasants; the penal commercial code that we applied to Ireland at the Restoration was carried by the landed and commercial interests against the will of the King, Ormonde, and Clarendon; Charles Fox himself hoped to pay his gambling debts out of the profits of an enclosure; that is the Whig spirit.

A. But what is the Whig spirit? You speak as if it was anathema to you.

F. It is—the Whig spirit is the pride of a caste, based on a belief (often well founded) in its own virtues; the Whig says "Ego et Rex meus," not "God and the King." The Whig Providence always fights for the money-bags and the big battalions; the Whig object is power, not the moral order; their philosophy is the egoistical Paradise of the freeholder, canonised by Locke; your true Whig has his God laid up in the heavens—

for Him, too, the Whig believes in non-interference.

The Whigs, then, on my view, transferred the crown of the right divine from the Monarchy to the Oligarchy, and their successors have beaten it up into a halo for the majority: all through their crying sin has been to forget righteousness.

A. But, about large properties, is the experience of the small holders in the droughts and floods that we had the other day encouraging? Surely you won't want all our agriculture put on such a precarious basis?

F. Toryism need support neither the large holding nor the small, but it is of its essence that more of the people should be on the land; and this must come whether you want it or not. Take the long view and assume that we get nine-tenths of our food supplies from America, Russia, and the Argentine. Does any one suppose that

that is going on for ever ? The States have practically stopped sending us wheat. Russia and Canada will soon send vast masses to the States and to the Far East. Everything points to the sources from which we get our wheat being diverted elsewhere in years to come. In another two generations, then, much more must be grown in England ; as you know I say "God speed the plough" for many other reasons, but this one is urgent, that we cannot go on importing at our present rate for ever. As the margin of arable cultivation creeps down again in England, is it not certain that a century ahead population will fall accordingly, and we shall be back again at the social framework of Elizabethan England ? Have we not got to organise for that revolution coming ?

A. Yes, we must organise the Empire : it must defend England.

F. We must begin our organising at home, and to do that the Tory Party must shed two of its maxims, commonly practised but not really essential to Tory theory : the defence of property as such, and the talk of individual rights. They are both really one question, and both really Whig legacies. The Tory Party has no business to talk of rights—only of right and expediency, and to see that these two do not clash. All property is not lawful for Tories to praise, and all individual rights are not expedient. When we believe that moral righteousness does not conflict with the highest interest of the State, we are lost as a Party.

A. Give us an instance.

F. Well, we do not make freedom of trade either a natural right or a moral law. The interest of the State must determine the relative freedom of trade. Or again, we must not defend property made by sweating or gross

monopoly on the ground of individual right: the Moral Law coincides with the interest of the State in disallowing it.

E. International politics will make your coincidence look rather lop-sided.

F. That is certainly the hardest case. But unless we believe in ourselves as a chosen people it is all up with us. I pin my faith on words like Cromwell's, "Who is a God like ours?" or Milton's, "First He revealed Himself to His Englishmen"; that is the spirit we must have. If we ourselves think this cant, we may as well put the shutters up: if others say it is, we'll look within.

E. I wish in your search you would solve one question I have vainly sought an answer to for many years: what is the connection in logic, the underlying mental attitude, that binds together the Tory beliefs, the belief in

the Empire, in the Church, in the Union, in rank ?

A. One swallows the platform, you know.

F. That is not the reason I should give. This is a great question—there is scarcely one greater. Does a crowd cheer the King because they fear God ? or do they worship God because they honour the King ? We are breathing a rare air now : we are on the plateau of the watershed from which spring the two great streams of human obligation that water the whole of life and meet in the common sea of Tory feeling. Let me read you what Hooker says of Law : " All things therefore do work after a sort according to law : all other things according to a law whereof some superior, unto whom they are subject, is author ; only the works and operations of God have Him both for their worker and for the law whereby they are wrought. The

being of God is a kind of law to His working: for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that He doth. . . . See we not plainly that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world?"[1] That leads us straight to the source, and it is good for us Tories sometimes to catch sight of our Father's home and our mount of vision. Authority is throned there: God, Law, Order. No reasoning will explain it to our adversaries: they cannot live in the atmosphere we love. Every Tory is a realist: he knows that there are great forces in heaven and earth that man's philosophy cannot plumb or fathom. We do wrong to deny it, when we are told that we do not trust human reason: we do not and we may not. Human reason set up a cross on Calvary, human reason set up the cup of hemlock, human

[1] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, i. ch. 3.

reason was canonised in Nôtre Dame. Rightly, then, we recognise its limitations, and trust our instinct of reverence for authority. And this, I suppose, tells in two ways in everyday Tory practice; partly in the love of an ordered life and the belief that ranks and institutions conform to the law of God or the law of nature; partly in that sort of optimism which is at the basis of Toryism, the tendency not to criticise but to accept, to work with facts and not to formulate theories. This last feeling accounts for some of the weakness of Toryism and the worship of things established as such. But the first is its greatest strength, it underlies everything. Try the doctrine of equality. Aristotle with his words, "For to some only the divine gold is given," set the key: all the great Tories have accepted that position. The New Testament itself tells the established classes that their sal-

vation is hard, but it tells the others to look up to them.

E. Perhaps for the reason that their salvation is hard.

F. Well, I don't think you will get the poor nowadays to accept poverty as a mysterious blessing. The Whigs told them so, and seem to have acted on the assumption that if the kingdom of heaven was open to the poor, they might be debarred from the kingdom of the earth. But then in the Whig and philosophic radical thought, poverty must be left to cure itself by competition. Whether competition is equivalent to loving your neighbour as yourself, I leave to your consideration.

E. Would you call Burke a Whig ? for sometimes he speaks in that key.

F. I should say a converted Whig. The doctrines that the converted Whigs have brought into the Tory Party are its greatest danger.

A. You always call yourself a Tory and not a Conservative : why is that ? It doesn't pay, you know.

E. The Tory was originally a sort of Irish bog-trotter, I was taught at school : and now, if you consider the morass that the Conservative Party has got into over Ireland, perhaps it is more honest to call oneself a Tory.

F. It is more honest to call oneself a Tory, but not for your reason, E. The name of Conservative Party lends the appearance that it must conserve at all costs ; but Toryism is consistent with revolution, if revolution will lead back to its first principles. The very accusation I bring against the present Conservative Party is that their policy is not dictated by any coherent body of principles : some of it is Whig practice masquerading as Tory principles,[1] some of it is prejudice parading

[1] "'Hush!' said Mr. Tadpole. 'The time has gone by for Tory governments ; what the

with reason, some of it vote-catching, claiming the name of policy.

E. But if you say that property is justified only by the use to which it is put, and if you test every institution by its deference to an ultimate object, haven't you arrived at the Whig doctrine that power is given for an end, and limited by that end ?

F. No, the Whigs coin the object of property and of government out of their own heads, and their minds were made up beforehand. The Whigs said property was there to bless the individual, and government there to defend property.

E. And the Whig individual there to curse the government.

F. Now the Tory says that government and property express the divine

country requires is a sound Conservative government.'

" 'A sound Conservative government,' said Taper musingly. 'I understand: Tory men and Whig measures.' "—Disraeli, *Coningsby*.

law, the lesson of experience, and the common consent of the race. Government and property, then, flow from our principles, but the Whig principles flow from their institutions. We build theories on the laws of heaven and earth, and base our institutions on those theories: they theorise from their own heart's lust. The Tory cannot escape from the law of divine right: he is bound to believe that might is right, unless it conflict with righteousness. So that we try government and property not on the anvil of individualism like the Whigs, not in the fire of equality like the Radicals, but on the ground of the heart, righteousness. Toryism, therefore, unifies all human life: the State and Church are one, and the whole is founded on divine right.

E. How do you explain this unity then? Is it an historical fact or practical politics?

F. The Tory Church is the Church of England: I do not compute the nativity of our religion from Henry VIII. I stand for an establishment because the State is not a machine without a soul. I stand for the Church of England as by law established because it is the true parent of the English State.

A. Thiers backed the Republic because it divided us least.

F. Yes, but I support the Church because it unites us most. In the abbey one cannot believe in Nonconformity; the worship of the State of England has to be venerable, catholic, and ordered.

B. Well, that's all very well for the State, but what about the Church? Is its soul helped much by the Privy Council, or is a Parliament of whom a majority are dissenters or agnostics its proper ruler?

F. Of course I dispute your history:

the King in convocation is the earthly governor of the Church as the King in Parliament is of the State. In so far as penalties for dissent touched laymen, Parliament properly intervened; but Parliament had nothing to say in drawing up the beliefs for dissent from which the penalties were imposed. We all know that the Long Parliament gave up time it might better have employed in making a navy to altering the creeds of the Church, but the Church has never been a Parliament Church. Such a theory might naturally spring up while toleration was unknown and the bounds of Church and State still coincided. But, now that the laity may dissent from the Church with perfect impunity, Parliament has no right in morals or history to interfere. The Church anoints the King, its bishops do him homage; the King is responsible to God for the people, and so is the Church.

E. Double responsibility may clash.

F. Then, in all things indifferent to salvation, the King must make the Church obey the law. As to those Church of England men who would rather see the Church disestablished than see her battered by Parliament and Privy Council, or think that cathedral stalls and lawn sleeves choke the seed—this is my answer. The Church is responsible to God for the people, and it cannot reject the burden. It cannot be equal with those its own offshoots that have not got this responsibility: as its position is greater it must bear the heavier load. For all the unchartered wealth of freedom from the State, the Church may not claim it. As to tithes, cathedral stalls and prebends, who are these men to cry out at the incidents of a great inheritance? These inverted pharisees would do better to look to the beam in their brother's eye

than worry over the mote in their own.

E. You are inverting the marching orders.

F. I have no patience with this new primitive Christianity. The bishop is bidden to serve the poor, but also to practise hospitality—to fear God, but also to honour the King. There is no holiness exclusive to asceticism; it is a growth independent of buildings or stipends, whether tithes or offertories support them. The Church of England has to build Jerusalem in the green and pleasant land of England, and it cannot build that house without hands.

E. In our—I mean to the plough. But with all deference, F., can we really establish our Toryism at this time of day on the basis of Church and King? Has no water flowed under Westminster Bridge since 1688? When you say that the cry of Toryism is still

"God and the King" do you mean it, or are these things an allegory ?

F. I answer in one sentence. Toryism existed long before the invention of the word Tory, and long before the Tory Party. No one manifestation of human activity, no single revelation of superhuman power on earth, limits in time the content of Toryism. Before the shepherds worshipped at Bethlehem, simple country folk had pinned their faith to those eternal and gracious forces, the signs in the heavens, the wonders of nature, the earth, mother of us all, within whose limits Toryism lives and moves and has its material being.

B. Toryism, then, is consistent with Paganism ?

F. Say rather Paganism with Toryism. I will not limit it to the teachings of the Church of England, and not even to the teachings of Christianity, for in the true Toryism the religion of

all good men may meet. It is the essence of Toryism not to separate life into compartments; there should be no question of Church and State, but one great body of principles governing them all. Christianity, then, is not the whole of Toryism, but part of it. Righteousness and the moral government of the world is the whole of Toryism.

E. Born a Tory, baptized a Christian—is that your formula? "C'est le premier pas qui coûte."

F. The Church of Tory thought is not primarily the Church that holds the keys of man's salvation, but the Church that is the ancient depository of the wisdom of the world, the guardian of the inherited virtue of the nation: it is to the Church that stands for belief in the good and the eternal, shared and defended for centuries by the wise and foolish, that Toryism looks, not to the Church that

promises a new Heaven but to the Church that sweetens an old earth. Not the Church that dispels the fear of death, but the Church that arms the weakness of life—not the Church that divides us from Plato and Aristotle and spurns the wisdom of the East and the daring of the West, but the Church that unites us and is the sworn champion of the good causes for which the good heathens fought. That I take to be the true Catholic faith of Toryism, a Christianity, historical, charitable, beneficent, tested by time. And men who cleave to the essence of the Church as an institution and representative of the Most High on these grounds will not, I hope, be rejected by the Church of England as unworthy of its sympathy and alliance, even if they cannot sign the Articles or steadfastly believe the Creed. For except these men abide in the ship of the

Church, it cannot save the soul of England.

A. So Toryism is older than Christianity ?

F. Old as the human race : young in the dawn of the world when shepherds ruled their flocks by the everlasting stars, old now with the accumulated experience of all good men.

That sense of awe at the workings of Nature, Providence, God, in the government of men—the sense that the house nations build to live in is not all made with hands or with the noise of ringing hammers—the sense that Aristotle and Burke, Laud and Strafford, Augustine and Disraeli all had—this is graved on the heart of Toryism.

B. Then you think we can stave off revolution in virtue of these ideas ?

F. Landslides come and the everlasting hills stand fast though their contour is changed. " Look at Provi-

dences," as Cromwell used to say, "they hang so together." The Church and modern science are both on our side. Both take their stand on principles that last for ever, and both attack all that is *a priori*, abstract, and false. Take the doctrine of original equality once more. The revolution bade us give men equal powers in the State, for men were equal by nature: the Church orders us to recognise service from man to man, and acquiesce in the existence of the principalities and powers that be. History tells us that this alleged equality never has existed: biology assures us that there is, and must be, a struggle for the higher life.

B. But surely on the whole the nineteenth century was a triumph for Liberal ideas—the rights of man, the rule of the majority, Free Trade, Disestablishment. It is hard to find an intelligent or consistent Tory policy in

the last hundred years. I can see some—Liverpools or Eldons—dying in the last ditch, some like Peel selling the breach, and others like Disraeli cutting the dikes to bury friend and foe alike under a flood of innovation.

F. I should not take such a gloomy view as that. We ourselves may be underlings, but the stars fight for us. Look at the Revolution—its triple alliance is broken. Fraternity, the sleeping partner, is laid up somewhere in the heavens, while Equality has strangled Liberty. Besides, what is really the greatest contribution to human thought in the last century and a half? What is the common link between Montesquieu, Burke, de Maistre, Savigny, Maine, Darwin, and a hundred other great names? Surely it is the doctrine that institutions, laws, nations, the human race itself, must be read in the light of the history that constitutes their best defence.

E. "Whatever is, is right," you mean?

F. Heaven forbid; the Liberal Party is, but it is wrong. No, the lesson of all our history and all our science for the last century need not mean that: what it does say, in contradiction to Liberalism, is that any institution or any existence, however anomalous at first sight, however repugnant if you like, has a claim to recognition, it must be reckoned with, it represents a chain of facts. That is why Liberalism is usually so superficial: it suggest, for instance, that you can stop drinking by penalising brewers. Perhaps legislation can diminish the opportunities to evil, but the Tory idea insists that not the opportunity but the evil itself is the thing to strike at. Therefore it would work on the hearts of men. That can only be done in the mass for a whole people by working on their material conditions first. How shall

we stop drinking if Free Trade masses the producers of wealth in great areas of mean streets, or how stop gambling except by filling life with more simple pleasures ? Here again Toryism faces the facts of our nature: it realises that man must be helped by external aids, that life must be diked and bulwarked. We, then, must recognise that to strike vindictive blows at the fruit of the tree is folly—one must look to the roots.

A. And how will you strike at the roots ?

F. Not by parliamentary action. If you agree with me that legislation cannot reach the roots, then we must give powers to other bodies which existed in their essential form before any one had dreamed of the House of Commons.

B. You seem to attack the whole theory of parliamentary sovereignty.

F. I do: it is not the original

theory of the Constitution of this country. Even the seventeenth-century Whigs, who made the theory, used to quote the fundamental laws that were limits alike to King and to Parliament. That is the real strength of the whole doctrine of a law of Nature, or in the doctrine of contract—the conception that there are some things which an omnipotent majority of one generation or one ephemeral sovereign may not touch.

A. But is there any going behind the seventeenth century? Do you suggest a written Constitution, or a new set of fundamental laws?

F. Without allowing that you can make any rigid division of written and unwritten Constitutions, I ask stability. I ask that it be made more difficult to tear up old institutions: I ask for the settlement of lines within which, as within a sea-wall, the ship of State may ride at ease.

E. There are good men, I believe, who think that the Referendum might give us this stability.

F. Perhaps I am a bad man, but I cannot share their belief, partly because it is impossible to draw up a list of subjects on which it is proper to consult the people, but mainly because the Referendum seems to me a cheap way of shirking the responsibilities of government : it makes what should be an act of government an opinion of the majority of the electorate.

E. Then how are you going to get your dike ?

F. By doing what I always want to do—by a return to the old principles of the government of England. That government was one of a balance of powers—won not as in America by a compromise of equal forces, but by an historical process based on the facts of the national history. The balance of the Constitution rested once not on

any paper balance of powers, but on the real equilibrium of social forces. That equilibrium was overthrown—first by an all-powerful monarchy bred of exhaustion, then by an all-powerful social caste reared on plunder. Parliamentary sovereignty and the sovereign House of Commons were made by the Reformation, the enclosures, the decay of the yeomanry and the old boroughs, and the corn laws. I attack that sovereignty now because it is false to the true facts of our society : is it parliamentary action that can settle the economic and social difficulties that swarm like bees about us ? Is the Labour Party in Parliament the real ruler of its constituents ? No one believes it. Let me put it in a word. The sovereignty of Parliament rested on a social basis, the formation of a supreme governing class : that class annihilated the old local governments and local life of this country :

that process of annihilation has heaped problems on Parliament, and Parliament, for all its legal sovereignty, cannot offer a cure. The wheel has come full circle. The completion of the social revolution, on which its power rested, has ruined the legislative capacity of Parliament, and the gradual undoing of that revolution will mean the end of parliamentary omnipotence.

A. I don't know that I agree with your premises. Do you mean, for instance, that Parliament is incapable of dealing with the question of the minimum wage; and if so, how does that bear on your history ?

F. Parliament cannot deal ultimately or permanently with the wages question, because Parliament has to act with uniformity. Now that uniformity is the strength of a central body, but it is all the product of the history that has made it. When, long ago, there was a minimum wage in England in

every trade, it was regulated with the utmost elasticity and determined locally. The Whigs, who made Parliament supreme, got their power by breaking everything—the Church and its courts, the guilds and the manors, the yeomen and the craftsmen—everything, I say, that stood between them and the uniformity they wished. But their system has broken down under its own weight. They set themselves to reduce Ireland to a uniformity with England : we bear the burden. They launched us on the *laissez-faire* wave, they broke all the resisting forces, they swept and garnished the country of all the local industries, all the agricultural interests that acted as a counterpoise to their industrial system, and, lo ! the seven devils of industrial unrest are the fruit.[1]

[1] " To be attached to the sub-division, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle (the germ as it were) of public

E. Do you think County Councils are a heaven-born method of government ?

F. What I am driving at is this : we cannot divorce the organs of government in a nation from its social condition, so that if that condition demand elasticity, decentralisation, local autonomy, we must adapt our government to it. Syndicalism, then, thus viewed is the social protest against a theory of sovereignty that no longer fits society ; we must therefore decentralise sovereignty if, as I believe, a decentralised society is our sole hope and stay.

A. A really popular government, then, is your object—to bring people into touch with things they can understand ?

B. If that is so, I still cannot see the overwhelming objections to the

affections."—Burke, *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

Referendum. Are you afraid to consult the people ?

F. I don't mind consulting the people if I know first who the people are, and then if they are competent to decide the question. But the Referendum seems to me to have this great vice : that the electors are asked to say yes or no on a particular subject, when probably neither yes nor no, but something between the two, is right. Besides, it is erecting into a principle the counting of heads, which you know I do not call a principle of government at all.

E. I am with you : the Referendum implies take it or leave it and be damned to you, whereas you probably should take half and damn the other half.

F. And moreover, the whole business rests on a fallacy. Do you suppose that a majority who voted Conservative on the single issue of Tariff

Reform would all vote Conservative on that account ? The confusion of the issues we complain of is the greatest recommendation of parliamentary government : if you are to be constantly dividing the nation on isolated issues, then farewell to the stability of government. For in practice what is the safeguard and the making of parliamentary government in this country ? It is that the average elector votes for men, not measures. And then as applied to the ills of our society, the Referendum, in my opinion, misses the whole point. If, as I have argued, parliamentary legislation is too clumsy, too uniform and too heavy a weapon to use, the Referendum is no better : it only takes the evil one stage further back. One draught for every sort of illness is an evil,—whether it is administered by a doctor or by the patient himself. Besides, to propose the Referendum burks the whole of

my grievance against parliamentary government, which is, that it is a political organisation misrepresenting the social condition of the country and ineffectual to cure it.

E. The true principle of Toryism, I suppose, is that the organisation of the State must represent society as it is.

F. Yes: a society cannot be healthy when the blood has all flowed to the head: its members must work freely, and its circulation flow at ease. Toryism cannot endure that the Home Counties be the caravanserai of London, it cannot tolerate a petty and dilletante dairy-farming where the plough should be at work, it cannot face with equanimity the contrast of overcrowded slum and empty countryside. And so once more I say, decentralise.

A. But on what principles? Where does the line fall that divides matters with which a central Parliament is

competent, and those with which it is, as you argue, incompetent to deal ?

F. That is a great, a fundamental, a burning question. The division of powers between a central and local legislature is not merely a matter of expediency : the whole principle and base of your franchise is involved too. If you believe in adult suffrage and the equality of man, then, *ipso facto*, your central legislature is sole and supreme sovereign, for it is the amalgam of all the wills of all the people. But I, as you know, deny the whole principle of equality, and therefore I am not, as supporters of that doctrine are, logically obliged to admit the supremacy of a sovereign legislature. Once deny equality of the suffrage, and a representative assembly differs from a County Council not in kind but only in degree : it is logically now no more than a very weighty body of opinion. Rejecting, then, the claims

of an equal suffrage as a principle, I reject it also on grounds of political expediency. For the right to elect the legislature implies, in my opinion, the power and the capacity to control it; and if the voters have neither the power nor the fitness to do this, then the franchise should not be given to them.

E. How will you assign the franchise according to capacity ?

F. Certain matters clearly affect every man : security of life and limb, safety of his property, care of his children, his payment of taxes. On such matters every man must have a vote. But the methods of national defence, the upkeep of the Fleet, the relation of Ireland to Great Britain—these may affect every man ultimately, but he cannot have the same burning interest in them or the same knowledge of them as he can of the wisdom of building a new cottage hospital and eradicating a slum.

A. I can see that light railways and heavy battleships need different capacities to judge them, but the dividing point is not very obvious.

F. Here again, I look to the past: every free man acted in his shire court, even every serf in his manor court. So (with the changed conditions of life for us) I maintain that every man of full age should have a vote for his County Council or District Council or Municipality, but not every man for the English Parliament or the future legislature of the Empire. I, then, you see, try to relate power to fitness more nearly than they have been of late. The electorate should vote on matters which they are fit and able to control, and the elected should legislate within the limits of the elector's capacity. For otherwise we have a legal sovereignty in the House of Commons that is normally irresponsible, tempered at intervals by the

ignorant pressure or avarice of the ultimate sovereign. But if fitness is the test of good government, the capacity of the elector will determine the power of the elected.

A. I don't quarrel with your general principles, but I want you to throw some more light on the practical difficulties of the question. Taxation, you say, affects every man : yet you do not propose to give every man power of voting for or against such taxation.

F. The taxes that are spent on matters within the voter's real competence and control he must clearly have the ultimate voice in. That is why I should like to see very great powers of raising and spending money handed over to local authorities. By such a measure and by building up a system of indirect taxation, the relation between taxation and representation could be made nearly com-

plete, for I cannot allow that to have no voice in the details of a tariff is oppression : on the contrary, it would be madness to allow such discussion. With the best will in the world, the consumer is not the best judge of the price.

E. You mean, then, to hand over the raising and the expenditure of taxation for such matters as education or sanitary measures to the local authorities, while the bulk of the taxation for strictly Imperial purposes you hope to raise by a tariff ?

F. Yes, always keeping fitness as my criterion. I hold that no legislature and no electorate are competent to control the making of a tariff except the Parliaments of each Dominion or State, and Electorates constituted on a tolerably high franchise. And the converse I believe to be true : direct taxation is a matter for the direct handling or control of the tax-

payer, and therefore I wish to delegate most of it to the charge of local authorities. They might well contribute to the needs of the Imperial Exchequer on some such plan as that of Pitt's Irish Bill of 1785. But the principle is the thing—not the details; a vital local government being essential to my plan, I hold that there stands or falls with it local control of all taxation which is raised by means that affect the district directly or spent for objects that touch its everyday life.

E. Do you know that the most terrible suspicion that one Tory can feel of another is taking possession of me? You tell me that you wish to decentralise the raising and spending of taxation; you invert the financial relations that exist at present between the central and local authorities in this country, and make the former dependent on the latter. My friends,

whatever he may call himself—Devolutionist or Federalist—our poor colleague is a Home Ruler.

F. And what real Tory is not? But let me tell you what meaning I attach to Home Rule. I am convinced that government cannot endure if constituted like an inverted pyramid, and that a system of Exchequer doles to old and derelict country districts is only a slow poison. Assuming a strong local life is the object of Tory policy, I maintain that involves delegation of financial powers. And granting that diversity in unity is part and parcel of Toryism, we must come to the height of this argument and set ourselves to solve the question—what constitutes the claim of one country in an Empire, one county in a country, one town in a county to be governed differently from its neighbours?

A. Not race and not faith: nothing but efficiency of government.

F. So that, efficiency being guaranteed, Belfast might submit to Dublin ?

E. You are moving now in a dialectical darkness that may be felt but cannot be expressed.

F. I am groping towards the light. And of all the powers of darkness, I dread most the power of catchwords. Whatever Unionism means, it cannot cure resolute racialism, nor can resolute government win hearts. In a sense, then, I confess myself a Home Ruler, for I want every man in the Kingdom to handle more directly the affairs of his own home. I cannot see that Tory principles are violated by the establishment of legislatures in Ireland, though I grant that Tory policy may be vitiated by it. An Irish Parliament, that is, is lawful for us, though it may not be expedient.

E. But Irish racialism is not single but twofold : there are the pleasant voices of Ulster to be considered.

F. Durham found in Canada "two races warring in the bosom of a single nation," and so do we in Ireland. How was the Canadian question solved in the end? By disentangling the head from the members, and merging divergent interests in a federation. But in a federation interests have to be weighed, not counted, and this is precisely where the Liberal plan of counting heads most hopelessly breaks down. Whether the majority of Irishmen were Catholic or Protestant, it would be equally unjust to leave the minority to their uncontrolled supremacy. The Protestant North-east is as much a nation in every sense as the Catholic South, on whatever test you try nationality. Therefore, whatever your solution, there must be equality of treatment. That is, either they must stay as they are, both merged in an Imperial Parliament, or each must

have a subordinate legislature of its own.

E. I pronounce you blameless ; you are not a Home Ruler in the parliamentary sense of the word.

F. No, for any intermediate plan, such as the Bills of '86, '93, or 1912, is to my mind quite impossible : it breaks down utterly on the questions of Ulster, of finance, and of Imperial control.

A. But has Ireland any material grievance ?

F. I do not know that you can count national differences on a specie basis, but if Ireland has no grievance the Empire as a whole has, for its central legislature is blocked with details of parochial politics, and its central administration weighed down with work.

E. Devolution—for that I take to be your object—has a very bad name in the Party.

F. And so has the Pope at Portadown. But the Pope survives, and so will devolution. Let us shatter the heresy that unity of objective spells uniformity of administration. St. Leger, the best Lord Deputy Ireland had for a century, warned Henry VIII. against it—his advice was not followed, and look at the consequences : Laud enforced it on the Church of England, and half England revolted : Macaulay talked us into educating Bengalis on a uniform diet of Mill, Spencer, and Macaulay : the era of codes nearly killed elementary education.

A. You mean that, where the salvation of the State is not concerned and in things indifferent, it is not consonant with the true Toryism to force on minorities the views or the culture of the temporary majority of the temporarily predominant party ?

F. Exactly : even a prejudice is sacred. Consider the popular pre-

judices: that a lord is a lord for all that—so he is: that poaching is a venial sin—and the Whigs made the game laws: that it is disgraceful to die in the workhouse—and who will overthrow the Englishman's home? The prejudices of the people do them honour—they are the relics of better times. In the same way if you find in Ireland a rooted prejudice against English government, do not shoot out the lips of scorn—it has a foundation: if you discover in Ulster a prejudice against the Pope, it is not exorcised by calling it superstition.

A. You suggest that local parliaments in each part of the United Kingdom and the Empire are perfectly competent to control education, licensing, rating, the poor-law, inland revenue, police, and so on, although you will, I suppose, set up an Imperial Parliament to control the Army and Navy, foreign affairs,

the Customs, and the high matters of State ?

F. Yes; efficiency of administration alone seems to command some such division of labour.

E. But you think, I expect, that one legislature is not only without the time but also without the capacity to regulate local government and domestic legislation.

F. I do not think that Irish finance and English mental deficiency are so inseparably connected that one legislature must control both. And look at the aspect parliamentary government in this country bears. The free use of the guillotine and an autocratic Cabinet supremacy may be less harmful in the discussion of Imperial problems : the agreement on foreign affairs is large, questions of the Empire's trade cannot be debated with much profit, India is not a Party subject (not yet, at least); of the Army and

Navy the House is proud but generally ignorant. What is monstrous is that ministers should be able to drive through, by whip and guillotine, measures that touch the ordinary life of the people. The injustice and the folly of legislating at this great rate and this high speed come from the fact that it is an attempt to mend a broken mainspring with a steam hammer: the uniform and crushing force of the process is its ruin.

A. This devolutionary scheming is very pretty, but can we fit it into any ideal of government for the Empire as a whole?

F. On that theme you must let me speak my mind plainly. There are ideas, that are policy in the making, championed by men of great talent, utter sincerity and devoted zeal, that to me seem more dangerous for the future of the Empire than any proposed since the day Charles Townshend

lounged in with his notion of taxing the Colonies. We are told that the present system of the Empire has nothing permanent about it, that the only two alternatives before us are dissolution or organic union.

A. Don't you agree that defence alone bids us draw together ?

F. Yes, but not that we must be shaken together. For the Party I speak of try to shake me on to the horns of a dilemma. You agree, they say, that united action for defence is necessary : therefore some permanent means of conference, some Imperial Parliament, is necessary ; but without the power of the purse such a Parliament would be a mocking shadow, and your scheme only a new project of Empire. On my agreeing to their arguments, they proceed to state a case ; in the event of a Dominion refusing to pay its due contribution of money or send its due contingent of

men for a war of the Empire, what is your remedy? I can only answer—civil war or separation.

E. They have you in the hollow of their hand.

F. Have they? At any rate, at this point in the discussion they always fall on me and hurl the thunderbolt at me that I am making "the extreme medicine of the Commonwealth its daily bread," that if my only remedy for refusal of a tax is war, the Empire may never be at peace.

A. I don't see how you can escape the net of their logic.

F. It is not all woven yet. They go on to say that the question resolves itself into the problem of sovereignty: if the Imperial Parliament is really sovereign, taxation (the prime attribute of sovereignty) must be in its hands, it must be vested with the power of raising and enforcing the payment of taxation: it must have

the sole command of the Army and Navy, and it must be empowered to levy and pay the forces throughout the Empire.

E. And how do they hope to do that ?

F. By nothing less than an Imperial Executive and Imperial Law-courts erected throughout the Empire, side by side with the courts and officials of each Dominion : nothing short of this will salve the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament.

E. I pause for a reply.

F. Read your Burke. Now let me try to frame an answer. It is true that united action for certain purposes vital to the whole Empire is consistent with the true doctrines of Toryism. But administrative uniformity is abhorrent to it, and so is the assumption that nationality is incompatible with Empire.

A. You subscribe then to the doc-

trine of Colonial Nationality: but what if it leads to Colonial Neutrality?

F. To ignore the entity of each Dominion and to propose to set up within each State of the Empire Imperial tax-collectors, recruiting officers and law-courts, is playing with the facts:[1] to grasp at the shadow of power as well as the substance is on a par with the Whigs' Declaratory Act. But if you still seek any way out of the dilemma, I can only reply that entrance into such an Imperial union at all implies a goodwill and an attitude of mind that must make a refusal to co-operate in an Imperial

[1] "The people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, sir, is a nation, which still I hope respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your lands. They are therefore not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas, and on English principles."—Burke, *Conciliation with America.*

war unthinkable. And if such refusal should come, it would not be avoided by Imperial soldiers or servants raising the taxes or levying the forces, for loyalty is not inculcated by familiarity with taxes and officers. There is a flag hung in the Chamber of Everlasting Regrets that lies (as with every other people) deep in the heart of England: on it are the scrolls,—Bannockburn, Whitehall, Clarendon Code, the Boyne, Boston Harbour: beneath is the legend, "Union of hearts through uniformity of law." Five times that flag has been flung in the history of this nation, and each time at what cost of blood, tears, and treasure! Men wish to take it to a sixth encounter, but let every Tory resolve that never again shall that flag be unfurled.[1]

[1] "Among all the great men of antiquity, Procrustes shall never be my hero of legislation; with his iron bed, the allegory of his government,

E. But has the contribution of Toryism to the Empire been so great that its existence depends on the triumph of the Tory idea? I always thought that the old Tory Party of the eighteenth century were Little Englanders.

A. They certainly looked askance at the wars of the glorious Revolution and standing armies.

F. You must consider the circumstances of the growth of the Empire. The expansion of England began under the auspices of the Crown of Elizabeth. It began with cutting the sinews of Spain, the national enemy, "providentially our enemy." It was carried on not by a ring of financiers, not by the direct employment of the force of government, but by the natural

and the type of some modern policy, by which the long limb was to be cut short, and the short tortured into length."—Burke, Observations on a Late Publication Intituled, *The Present State of the Nation.*

instincts of a free and proud people: it was founded on the work of volunteers, glorious ventures, "men of Bideford in Devon." And the divergency that saves England was in this process too. Every motive entered into the daring heads of Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, and the rest: sometimes it was to find gold, sometimes to make a nursery of seamen, sometimes to add a new jewel to the Crown of Gloriana. There was no system, and that was the glory of it: no powerful or sinister interest dictated this attraction of the spheres, no logical or cold-blooded ambition made a machine of what was life abounding. The strong desires that swell in Elizabethan verse went out to the sea in ships, sailing under the happy genius of the Crown: they were not cabined or confined in formulas. Such was the founding of the Empire. Consider the change by 1776 when Adam Smith

wrote, and reflect on the history of England in the interval.

E. Yes, Elizabeth and Cromwell dead, and Chatham dying.

F. That and so much more. You can see that the Whig revolution that so transformed politics and society in England altered also the attitude of men to the Empire even early in the seventeenth century. Then began that settled project, "to found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers,"[1] which Adam Smith attacked as the project was coming to an end. First the East India Company—sole relic of so many more like it—committed our Eastern provinces to the policy of exclusion: then you have the Puritan Whigs—Essex, the Vanes, Manchester, Pym—beginning the proprietary and chartered-company colonies in America.

[1] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, bk. iv. ch. vii. pt. iii.

And the Whigs, like the Revolution, have always warred with their own children. So long as the Whigs were in opposition and the Stuarts had a royal colonial system, the chartered companies and proprietors were backed by the Whigs against the Crown. When the Whigs had set the crown on the head of their Party leaders, they began to demand the submission of the East India Company to Parliament, for they *were* Parliament. But they were too late: in the American colonies the spirit of opposition to the Crown they had nurtured was at length unchained and turned against Parliament: the Whigs had supported the colonies against Downing, and the colonies now kicked at Downing Street.

E. So the Downing Street system was earlier than the nineteenth century.

F. The real difficulties we find in the government of the Empire come

from the mistakes of the first two centuries. Why is Canada, for instance, so different in many provinces in tone from English life and thought? Does it not largely spring from the history of Nonconformity? And Nonconformity as a system of life and thought came from the blunders of the false Toryism of Laud and his kin. Then there is commercial jealousy: that is the other uniformity, the Whigs forcing their system on loyal peoples. The early American leaders were Virginians and gentlemen: were they likely to put up with the petty malignities of Whig financiers?

E. Well, the first Empire is lost.

F. Yes, the Whigs lost their Empire and blame George III. for it. The second Empire is in the main a Tory one: Clive, the Wellesleys, Pitt, Castlereagh, Disraeli—all looked on the Empire with such different eyes from the founders and upholders of

the Whig system, though some of them might call themselves Whigs.

E. But what became of Toryism in the Empire from the death of Raleigh to the death of Chatham ?

A. Why from the death of Raleigh ?

E. He was the first English victim to the Scotch method of Imperialism.

F. The method of playing for safety ? The Scotch have certainly done wonders with the Empire, but the English made it. And if the Whigs had left it alone, they might have kept it all. The Tory idea persisted in the frail plantations of the seventeenth century. Surely the wonder is that no breath of disloyalty to the Crown appeared till 1770, when the Whigs had enslaved the Crown. The very exceptions—the revolt of the Royalist colonies against the Commonwealth and other such incidents—only prove the general rule : and what might not have been effected if the Common-

wealth had granted the prayer of Barbadoes to be represented in Parliament ?

E. Cromwell sent Englishmen to represent us in Barbadoes.

F. True, and all Tories.

A. I am not familiar with the history of that island (though the flying fish are excellent eating there), but I never liked the Jacobite attitude to the wars of William, Anne, and the first two Georges.

F. As to that, remember that the Tory King was an exile, and that the country was for years at war to save Holland or Hanover. Recall the arrogance of Marlborough and the impossible terms that the Whigs asked of Louis XIV. : see the wisdom of Bolingbroke in the terms of Utrecht, his recognition that France in Europe need not be the eternal enemy, the defeat of the commercial treaty with France by the Whig manufacturers,

just as Fox later declared against Pitt's : consider the use of a standing army by the Puritans to break the Crown, the Church and the Loyalists, the folly of Cromwell in attacking a weak Spain from Protestant frenzy instead of a rising France—do not forget the white horse of Hanover with death riding on it for thousands of English, and the sacrifices we made for that despicable electorate. If you keep these things in mind, you will reflect, I think, that though the commercial instinct of the Whigs and their Protestant prejudices cut like swords to make an Empire, the Tories were justified in their attitude. They kept alive the insular spirit, the sense of England a maiden power free from foreign entanglements, and they refused to let prejudice enter into our system of alliances, nothing but the interest of England.

A. You seriously think you can

distinguish the threads of Tory and Whig foreign policy through generations?

F. Yes, the Whigs, though they were great men some of them and did great things, always seem to me to have been moved by some influence, some interest or some prejudice not purely English. For if you scratch the Whig, you find the Covenanter, the man obsessed with one idea—that he and his policy alone can save the country.

A. But you do not deny that this singleness of self-confidence was a great national asset?

F. I do not deny it for a moment, at least on the material side: I am content to point out that to apply his panacea the Whig would stop at nothing. Take the country party of the seventeenth century: Pym and the saints were in correspondence with "le Roi," and ready to "vassalise us

to a foreign nation," could they only tear Ireland from the Crown: to quarter Scotch condottiere on English farmers or to take the pay of a French King for parliamentary obstruction, for this Hampden died on the field and Sidney on the scaffold. Again, I say nothing of the end these remarkable men aimed at—it was, I believe, "Liberty": all I say is—note the means whereby the English people were to be forced to be free.

E. Compulsion when it suits them, or the voluntary principle when it suits them—both are consistent with "Liberty," as we know.

F. Then look at the second stage of Whig policy; the era of what you may call the moneyed policy which prevailed from the expulsion of the last native King of England till the accession of the King who gloried in the name of Briton and the advice of Lord Bute. The commentary on that phase

of Whig policy is writ large in great literatures—in *The Conduct of the Allies*, in *The Craftsman*, in *The Patriot King*, in *Hosier's Ghost*, in the *Speeches on America*, and *The Present Discontents*. We see war begun for the interest of foreign dynasties, war made to pay at enormous rates of interest, war conducted not indeed unsuccessfully but in the mercantile spirit, war concluded by inglorious peaces, the work of factions. Do you not see running through these ephemeral victories and these hollow truces the same arrogant uniformity that we have seen before as the mark set in the forehead of the Whigs ? To force the Whig ideal of the map of Europe on Louis XIV. they refused terms distasteful to the English merchants : to force the Hanoverian scheme for Germany on us they plunged us in the Austrian Succession war : to uphold the rigidity of their mercantile system

they pressed war on the American colonies.

Come to the third stage of Whig policy—when it passes into modern Liberalism. Once more they are dominated by formulas. On one side it is the economic principle of *laissez-faire*, which for generations they treated as a political axiom: they pinned their fate to Turgot and Adam Smith, spoke of the colonies as fruit that would necessarily drop off the tree, and gibbeted their political ancestors as if the eighteenth century had been the dark ages.

Their other catchword was Liberty, and this was more elastic in its interpretations. Sometimes it was to mean non-interference, absolute and irrespective of circumstances, but sometimes that the peoples they approved of were to be assisted to "Liberty." So you get Fox and the Revolution, Canning and the South

American colonies, Palmerston and the Sonderbund, John Russell and Italy : great men, sure of themselves, and sure of their faith and therefore pressing it on the unconverted. But the condemnation pronounced on those who would save their own life lies heavy on them, for the Whigs put their political souls before the life of England.

E. But are we free from political shibboleths ? Do you not think that modern Imperialism has its dangers ?

F. Yes, but remember the Whig source of the greatest of them. Recollect that we have to meet now the third or Liberal phase of Whig foreign policy. The emergence of this third phase coincided with the division of the Whigs into two parties, and the enrolment of the moderates in the Tory Party. Now the sentiments that combat the Liberal theory of Empire are two. One is the Whig mercantile spirit, the desire to keep an empire of

customers, to make the Empire pay, and that way lies danger. The other is the genuine Tory spirit, a constant and deep attachment to the Crown coupled with a horror of uniformity of institutions and of economic formulas. This last spirit persisted in the colonies after the American Revolution, and after the growth of Free Trade: Disraeli seized on it and revived it as a staple of modern Toryism. But now the danger is once more the Whig uniformity, to press forward cut and dried schemes of empire. Think how miserably inconsistent it would be for us, who denounce the Radical enthusiasts that force their occidental and obsolete beliefs on India, to force our beliefs on the Dominions. The Pitt diamond ended set in the hilt of the sword of Austerlitz: let us avoid this ravishing policy of uniformity that must end in disaster, and realise that the conquered

cause does indeed sometimes please the gods.

A. But we have to make some kind of government for the Empire.

F. Of course, but you need not start at the wrong end. The economic conditions of peoples so widely different and so separated are first their own affair : one sentence will tell you my view—I believe that Protection is an article of the true Tory faith, but that Preference is only a rubric.

E. That is, you abandon the original impulse of the Tariff movement ?

F. Not the impulse, but its direction.

B. The direction is the point. Your Imperial building will fall about your ears for lack of cement.

F. I might retort that you want to cement it with dynamite. But do not mistake me. I am speaking now as a Tory of what I believe to be the true Tory faith and the grounds for it.

With the righteous and good life as the end of that faith, I do not admit that any economic system must be an article of it unless it is proved to lead to this end. These things I take to be the main objects of Toryism; order before wealth, the balanced life before uniformity, self-sufficiency before dependence. What must be the economic background in which these goals of national endeavour shall stand? I say at once, not the system called Free Trade. But all beyond that is a matter of method, not principle. If a small preference on imported food-stuffs will strengthen the material framework of this Empire, and yet allow the restoration of the balance in English economic life, then let us have it: but no formulas, no expulsion of Tories who disbelieve in a question of method.[1] Free Trade is, I

[1] "As if, while the Temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble,

believe, the negation of Toryism; but those who agree on the end of a tariff need not quarrel on its details: preference is not the *esse*, not the constitutive.

E. But Protection, you say, is a fundamental: will you explain that?

F. I will try, though it is most dangerous ground. If I read the history of Toryism aright, the Tory will always seek to avoid two opposite evils, the negative optimism of the *laissez-faire* school and the Revolutionary policy of centralisation and uniformity. The first leads to the dehumanising of life and the cheapening of human values, the second to the destruction of any wholesome interest in work and government, and to the drab discontent of materialism.

others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrational man who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of God can be built."—Milton, *Areopagitica*.

Now Free Trade combines both these evils. Its extreme positions have long been abandoned, as we know: no one outside a University club advocates non-interference in the hours and conditions of industry. The Factory Acts, the Housing Acts, and the thousand and one Acts that deal with such things recognise the evil effects of the system, but they leave the system itself standing, and all this legislative activity is steadily engulfed in the spreading morass of the unfit, the unemployable, the broken men.

E. Does the New Toryism promise work for all ?

F. It promises hope for the future, which is more than the ruck of current politics can do. You cannot drain this morass of misery away, once it is formed, except in one way,—the diversion of the waters at their source. For the economic effects of Free Trade do

not stop at the evils of unfair distribution: underneath and causing these are the evils of production. A nation whose goods must compete with others protected by tariff walls must make cheapness of production its first thought, and cheapness of production involves conditions of production that it is the bounden duty of Toryism to destroy. You may patch up your low wages by legislation, but no Housing Acts, no town-planning, will undo the essential evils implied in cheapness of production. To economise in production, the works must be near the iron and the coal, the workers must be near the works, the large industry must predominate over the small, wages must be kept down, and rents will go up.

A. I suppose you want us to return to the Domestic system of industry ?

F. All I say now is that this massing of people in urban areas is not only a grave political danger, not only does it

have most disastrous effects on the character and physique of the people, but none of your remedial legislation, none of the efforts of the workers themselves, will cure it. You pass minimum wage bills, you pass factory Acts, your trades unions insist on better conditions, and what is the effect? To raise the cost of production: the aristocracy of labour are benefited, but for every act of this sort the sum of unemployment or half employment is increased. For somehow or other the employers must recoup themselves and get back their old cost of production: of the two ways open to them, a rise of prices to the consumer or the dismissal of some of their workmen, both hit the labouring classes, and the last (in view of the effects of a rise of prices on foreign markets) is the one first adopted under the present system. That is the first great indictment against Free

Trade: it cheapens life, it makes it "nasty, brutish, and short,"—not "solitary" indeed, but huddled in one grey uniformity.

What else is involved in this cheapness of production? The workman who is paid cheaply must be fed cheaply. Fling the ports open then, kill your arable farming, turn the old plough-lands into prairies, bring the people off the land, herd them in factory towns—they shall be paid cheaply at home and fed cheaply from abroad. And so ends that balanced national life that every government, every lasting State, every enduring polity, has made its chiefest care. For lack of it the city-States of Italy fell; to keep it, Canada and America protect their industries, and France her agriculture. Perhaps an appeal to the lessons of history is unwarranted in a futurist age, but let me state my solemn belief that a people of whom

eighty in every hundred live in towns with populations of ten thousand or over can keep neither the hearts, the bodies, nor the souls that the lasting greatness of a commonwealth demands.

E. Will you protect everything—in spite of Sidney Smith ?

F. I will protect something that Smith thought could take care of itself—the good life. I do not cherish illusions, such as an immediate return to a nation of peasant proprietors, but I do want harmony — a balance of existence. Put aside, if you will, the effects of our civilisation on the great cities and their inhabitants, and look at what is left outside. Can any contrast be more mournful than that between the English village of the fifteenth century, its common fields, its guilds, its really corporate life, and the life led now in our small country towns and villages ? Set on one side the stout row of clothing towns in the

Cotswolds that once defied kings and traded overseas, and on the other set the Cotswold towns and villages now haunted by archæological clergy and populated by mediæval Americans. Think of the looms and the weavers of East Anglia and Essex, the Coggeshall whites and the Kendal greens, the Sussex iron-forges, the little towns proud, like those of modern Italy, of their church or their mystery, the open fields running up to their gates, the pleasant-walled cities set in gardens,—think of these and many more, and weep for the dead industries of England.

A. Not dead surely ?

F. No, robbed of human worth. For the Industrial Revolution and Free Trade have put the lives of city and country so far apart that they cannot hear each other speak : the small towns are only the parasites of the great cities, sell their wares and

mimic their amusements, as though their sole vocation were endless imitation. That hierarchy of the State, that vast pride of local life, that kindly graduation of social existence, are broken beyond repair : the countryman is inarticulate, spiritless, and of the earth, earthy; the townsman is a "worker," a unit in a mob, restless, bitter, feeding on class prejudice, for by this time he knows that for cheapness, that mess of pottage, he has sold his birthright. To give back that birthright, the land of England, not divided as now betwixt the desert and the sown, not as now half of it full of life, the other half instinct of dead forgotten things, but all living, all at work, all self-governed—the Tory Party must pledge its life.

E. And do you really hope to work such wonders through a tariff ?

F. Not entirely : for, as I must constantly insist, a tariff is only one instru-

ment to achieve the ends of Toryism. It is an economic weapon that has only a relative excellence, so far as it carries out the duties of defence for which we make it. A tariff serves us in the office of a wall, but in the details of its making I want the same power given to us as Seithenyn claimed for the sea-wall of Gwælod, that is, elasticity. But Toryism and all its instruments have righteousness as the bed-rock: apply that to the making of a tariff. What will make life wholesome, what will keep the people in good heart and good health, what will make us depend more on ourselves, what will redress the lost balance of our society, what will let the blood flow more at ease to the extremities of the commonwealth? I say that with these great ends in view you must protect agriculture.

E. Food-taxes, in fact, either with or without Preference?

F. People always speak as if a great people can or do live by bread alone. But it is not my business to choose between economic expedients : grant me that Protection is necessary at the moment to our Toryism, and you can work it how you like. A Patents Act will work wonders for manufacturers, but what will protect agriculture, the oldest invention of man ? I tell you that it cannot be done under the present system. We tell the arm-chair optimists of the state of the countryside : they say they will give us credit-banks, light-railways, State-aided purchase, and all the other accessories of what ? Of cheap production. If they gave us all their army of panaceas, they would not bring the level of our cost of production down to the level of the New World that knows not income-tax, death-duties, or heavy rating. And if they could, we would not have it.

For we know the fruits of cheap production under Free Trade : it means machinery, not men, the large business farm, not the small holding. We have had enough of this inhuman agriculture : why should we bring our social system to the crucible of unrestricted markets ? No—we want to make a living wage for our farmers again, and that cannot be obtained independent of price. You may do it by tariff or by bounty, but you must give agriculture a fair, a worthy, and a stable reward.

A. And what about the towns in this agrarian system ?

F. Not so remote or far ahead is the end of this dualism. A living agriculture means life in the country towns again : by ensuring a reward we shall increase the home-grown supply and hence decentralise the markets of the country. Science will help us in this work : electricity will supplant steam,

industry return to the water springs, and the valley of the Wiltshire Avon throb once more with the life that in Cobbett's day had gone from it.

I do not seek impossibilities: the work must be gradual—once begun, the only danger will be that of going too fast. But I appeal with confidence to facts. We are told that small holdings shall be created for us: they forget that the artificial creation of small holdings in this country is impossible, they ignore the fact that the small holdings which were the natural growth of the past were protected by a tariff. We set up a tariff then, and we are told that we shall starve the poor. They forget the invariable concomitant of a tariff in older England, the minimum wage: price and wage alike were to be settled on justice and having regard to each other. By the tariff we differentiate industry: by the minimum wage we universal-

ise economic justice. They hang together, they are providentially harmonious.

A. They will hang together like mill-stones round our necks. I am old-fashioned enough to believe in the laws of supply and demand.

E. But then you battered on Mill at Oxford.

F. It is the contrast between Mill's theory and our experience that gives me the final and greatest objection I feel to our present economic system. It is that it puts the life of the people at the mercy of great forces outside their control: the stream takes us with it and the floods pass over us. Cheapness of production in our staple industries is made the key of the arch; hence the need of cheaply-won food; hence the unprotected state of agriculture. The farmer, then, is made dependent on the demand for our manufactured goods: the reward of

his days of toil is relative to this end. But the standard of the people's life should be positively dictated by their needs and their duties,—not solely related to the demand for the fruits of their work. That is the chief reason why a tariff is at present essential to the realisation of the Tory idea: with a tariff we can start at the basis of human life, the land: we can make the demands and supplies of those who live on the land determine the demand and supplies of those above them. That is, we introduce stability into our society by making the permanent life the foundation of the economic structure, whereas at present the ephemeral and transitory forces of world demand and world supply determine the lot of the dwellers at the base.

A. Practically speaking, I take it that you make the minimum wage the basis of your system. Your Toryism

seems to me nothing but State Socialism.

F. Words, words, words. If you mean by Socialism, swallowing the economic beliefs of Marx or of Henry George, Toryism has nothing to say to these fatalistic formulas.

E. A man who really believes that wages are intercepted by rent should be made a rent-collector.

F. If by Socialism you mean Christian Communism, Toryism cannot impress a political creed on the charity hidden in the New Testament. If you mean that a centralised State should be universal in function and all-powerful in action, we do not believe it.

The plain fact is that Socialism is a law to itself, but Toryism must hold to the laws of God and of nature. Socialists say either that private property (at least in the means of production) is economically wasteful and dangerous, or that it is immoral:

we deny both propositions as general truths, though we may affirm both in particular instances. The Tories as a Party are obliged to take account of history and of facts, from which even a Socialist cannot escape: Rousseau himself, who, to make his ideal complete, must have added the economic background of Socialism, admits that the government of a State must vary with historic circumstance. Moreover, the essence of Socialism, the spring from which it rises, in so far as it has an ideal or a religion about it at all, is the dogma of equality, and thus the Socialist ideal of government springs from the rankest form of individualism; it must be the engine to enforce equality. But this dogma we totally deny. Its supporters, you must have noticed, never apply it to duties, only to rights: to claim an equal share in government and to refuse an equal share in the expense

of government, that is the logic of the Revolution.

But if you mean by Socialism only an extension of State control, then we judge each case on its merits. We are not sworn either to State control or to the rights of the individual: by our judgment of facts and of the history of the English people, we lay the onus of proof on the State, but our sole criterion is the well-being of the commonwealth, tested by the Moral Law.

E. No formulated policies, in fact.

F. In this sense—that *per se* we do not swear either by municipal washhouses or the Mosaic code. Mr. Wackford Squeers had elements of the true Toryism in him—in that he believed in teaching by experience. Our standard is a great body of morality, consistent with the New Testament, approved by the evidence of ages, tested by experience. So it is with

every great question: you remember Cromwell—"I have a cloud of witnesses, above, within, without." And with such a touchstone you cannot dismiss aspirations with a phrase, or damn beneficence by calling it socialism. The Tory cannot admit such a philosophy of the State as this attitude would imply: let us leave this eternal antagonism of State and individual to the family quarrels of the Whigs and the Revolution. With us it is a question of method, and when we say that we do not fear State action, we mean that we fear its effects less for ourselves than for the State: we must not be taken to mean that Acts of Parliament can do everything well.

A. I suppose that in the golden age of Toryism there was not this fever of legislation to settle social unrest?

F. No, people moved then within frontiers: their industries were protected by tariffs, their life and their

well-being by the parish, the manor, the abbey, the guild. The State had not then torn down the hedges of social life and left men in one open field of competition : it had then no cause to proffer remedial legislation on a gigantic scale to right the wrong it had done, and by so doing to add inequality to injustice. The State then kept the defences up, but within them it delegated its office to others : it left surviving the old organs of government from which it had sprung, and it was not afraid to let the people govern their own everyday life. That is why I insist on the revival of local government and of government along the natural lines of our society. There has been more than one martyr at Whitehall, and one is real popular government.

E. You mean, I take it, to draw the sting out of Syndicalism by making it statutory ?

F. Some development of economic self-government within each several industry I certainly look upon with confidence, and I should welcome it as a Tory revival.

A. Your conception of individual liberty appals me. Will you make each industry really autonomous; and if so, does that involve compulsory membership of the unions?

F. I do not think that individual liberty is the criterion of Tory measures, but the good of the State—and these need not conflict. We look on the matter with such different eyes. This is how I view the second half of your question. In old days, when an industry served a local market only and population stood fixed in its marks, membership of the guild was rightly made the condition of employment in each trade. But now that great unions with millions of members cover the face of the country, it follows that to

make membership of such unions compulsory is to give them the power of holding up society, and it is on that ground, not on the score of individual liberty, that I agree with you. I do not want to escape from a State uniform sovereignty to fall into the jaws of a Federation of Trades Unions.

Of course, I am certain that you dread the power of the unions more than you need. Universalise the principle of the minimum wage, leave the settlement of it to local boards (not covering the entire industry), and you knock the bottom out of the all-embracing union. If the *laissez-faire* school had shed their dogma and treated Trades Unionism not as conspiracy but as a protest against impossible conditions, we should have cleaner hands and a cleaner slate.

E. The Trade Unions and the wages problem are bringing us to tariffs by another route, I suppose ?

F. Yes, we cannot go on intervening in the conditions of production and distribution, and leave exchange untouched.

A. What truth is there in that sort of plausible platitude ?

F. A good deal, I think, if you reason it out. If the State diminishes the hours of labour and increases the rate of wages, the economic value of each employee is proportionally diminished to the employer. Unless you want chronic unemployment, you must steady prices to recoup him.

A. But surely the minimum wage, which you make the companion of a tariff, is open to great economic objection. There is the stock objection that the minimum fixed by law would always be the maximum earned.

F. The praise of famous men, if persevered in, becomes an infamy, but really our forefathers worked this out long ago. If we are making a return

by degrees, as I believe we are, to their type of society, it is surely our duty to look at their economic regulations. Examine them, and you will see that they regulated wages in detail: boy labour and young men's labour they settled by apprenticeship, and within each trade they differentiated. In agriculture, for instance, there was nothing like the single flat rate that is advocated now: in sixteenth century proclamations the "first-class hind" was at so much, the horseman at so much, and so on down the scale.

A. Then an employer is not to have the right to settle the rate of wages he gives his men?

F. That was not the spirit of the older law of England, which looked on peasants and artificers not primarily as the "hands" of an employer, but as limbs of the commonwealth. If you agree with this true Tory con-

ception of the State, you will agree that the rate of wages of the common people is far too serious a thing to leave to the cudgel-play of demand and supply. I question whether the wage-earning structure of society is consonant at all with the true Tory ideal; but, assuming that we must deal with facts as we find them, we must at least regulate this structure by the first principle of Toryism, the reign of law. As I make dikes within which the stream of the Constitution may safely flow, so I ask for a fixed mark beneath which the wages of the people may not ebb. Depend upon it, you cannot lay new burdens on your wage-earners without giving them a living wage: how can you expect a large and ardent patriotism from people whose chief anxiety is the rent? I for one cannot see National Service divorced from the minimum wage.

A. I suppose we cannot tempt you

into giving us an outline of the Tory poor-law policy of the future?

F. No, for we may hope to see the end of the national poor-law system. Age and sickness will always make their claim on us: I look to contributory insurance to make that good. Drink and immorality will always have their victims; I hope that the Churches may lessen their number. But partially to end unemployment is surely in the scope of human remedies. The economic regulations I have proposed—the tariff and the minimum wage—ought to ensure the end of casual and underpaid labour to a very great degree: they will at least do something to ward off the blows of circumstance and greed. If employment is thus steadied and improved, and old age, sickness, and unemployment amended by universal insurance, I cannot see why we may not look forward to the time when poor-law

relief will no longer be given to the able-bodied. One other point: the payments for unemployment benefit I should put wholly on the employers and the workmen. Those are the goals I aim at, though, as you know, legislation is the weakest of the means to be used.

A. Something for nothing — the same reward for good and bad men— that is the evil of the minimum wage.

F. Surely not for nothing? They make your bread and you wish them to fight your battles.

E. You might as well say that you cannot imagine the existence of Parliament without payment of members.

A. Yes, your position entirely abandons what I always thought the sound Conservative ideal of the unpaid and unbought service of one's country.

F. I do not hold out the minimum wage as a bribe to obtain National Service: I say it is one of the con-

ditions that are needed to make it legitimate, or possible, in the present state of our society. It is one of the measures needed to restore the balance of this society. For it is not the opposition of demand and supply, but the correlation of rights and duties that goes to make an ordered national life. And this is precisely the lack of our State. It is so in the realm of government; we have not, indeed, taxation without representation, but we have the worse and opposite evil of representation without taxation on a great scale. It is so in social relations: we have an idle class of great wealth and no felt responsibilities offset by a parasitic half-employed class of unceasing poverty and no possible public obligations. To enforce duty on those rich enough to buy rights,[1] and to give

[1] "To abandon the government of men for that of hounds and horses, the care of a kingdom for that of a parish, and a scene of great and generous

the rights of life to those overborne with duty,—that is my object. And so I say that National Service should be accompanied by the minimum wage.

E. I imagine that we should all agree in recommending some form of general military training on other than purely military grounds.

F. I should much prefer to see it adopted not as the last resort of an unmilitary nation or as a reluctant expedient forced on a people whose hearts are in their money-bags, but arrived at with some approximation to general consent, defended on grounds of morals and of national health, and warmly approved by the national sense of honour and security. Rule out all military considerations, and I

efforts in public life for one of trifling amusements and low cares, of sloth and idleness, what is it, my Lord ? I had rather your Lordship should name it than I."—Bolingbroke, *On the Spirit of Patriotism.*

should still commend this course to the Tory Party, though with three provisos. The first is, that to demand military sacrifice from an unstable economic structure, as ours is at present, is neither just nor safe. To ask universal service from the peasants of Italy or France is very different to asking it from our city wage-earners. The land is always there as a peasant proprietor's bank, but compulsory service from a poor wage-earner is an overdraft.

E. Paid sometimes by the old generation sitting at home alone.

F. And dishonoured by the generation unborn. The second point is nearly bound up with the first : I wish a return to the oldest principle of the English military system, that the responsibility for local defence fall on the localities. Let us at all costs avoid a watery patriotism, and restore so nearly as possible the true militia

principle ; the decentralisation of the organisation of the second line of defence will, I believe, form a necessary part of the general system I look forward to. And the third principle I lay down is this,—avoid uniformity like the plague. We have never had a Spartan polity and we cannot now. Some years of training, some liability to service, is inherent in our law from the days of the Saxon fyrd to the Elizabethan musters and the Book of Sports : we must " save the thing that God hath sent," but we must not lose anything else, above all, the free spring of patriotism.

So let us set up as elastic a system as possible : let men have the option of the Army or the Navy, for surely service as boys in the Navy avoids much of the dislocation of industry that is alleged : ameliorate the system and introduce it gradually. I confess I have little patience with the military

school who hold that half a loaf is not bread: the principle that every man should be fit to defend the State is the thing we must take to our hearts.

E. Do you accept the word man? If so, I must conclude that women must not have the vote; for if you will not give it to all the men who do fight, far less will it go to the women who do not, or, perhaps I should say, should not.

F. I don't think that capacity to bear arms is the sole criterion of political worth. I never read that the prætorians were sane politicians, or the janissaries jealous guardians of their country's laws. Nor do I think that the precise limitations or extensions of the franchise are a matter of principle.

A. At last you are coming down to earth.

F. It is the most earthy of subjects. But let me make myself clear. Once

you reject the claim of equality, the claim that one human being as a political animal is equal to any other human being in rights and powers and therefore has an equal right to vote, (and that is a claim every Tory must reject,) then the franchise becomes a matter of expediency. So the Utilitarians treated it, and, though I reject their conclusions, I follow the principle of reasoning they followed : the franchise will depend on things exterior to humanity itself,—on education, on material equipment, on rank, on possession, on the balance of social power.

On this principle of functional inequality, then, I have clearly declared my conviction that all men should not have a vote for the Imperial Parliament, for all men, contrary to the poet's belief, do not love the highest when they see it. But since a Tory may not be at the mercy

of a formula, since no one class may be safely trusted for many generations to determine the everyday life of its fellow-citizens, since government is at its best on the smallest scale, I have argued that every man should have a voice in local government.

A. Then why not every woman ?

E. Or at least every woman one knows ?

F. Let me apply the same line of reasoning to the woman's claim. Once more I reject the whole case erected on the basis of an alleged equality ; the more a woman is made equal to a man, the less she can fulfil the law of her being and the manifest end of her creation : the more a woman claims to rule men in virtue of her equal capacity for government, the less she will rule him in the strength of her peculiar and everlasting superiority of character : she is voting away her own privileges.

B. Without claiming that women are equal to men, cannot one hold that for certain political functions they are superior? How do you equate George Eliot with the village publican?

F. Does not George Eliot prove my point,—that the greatness and the function of woman is settled by laws not of man's making: it is not to administer the State but to build the administrators, not to bear its burdens but to lighten the load of the bearers. But, the claim of equality apart, I maintain that the enormous majority of women are quite unsuited by temperament to weigh a policy, to count the cost, to balance the claims of heart and head, to do all, in short, that makes up the art of politics.

E. So in this matter you fling yourself on the broad bosom of Aristotle?

F. No, no. A Tory can never accept the words of any one man, however great, and bind them on his

forehead for all time. That sort of intellectual Cæsarism we may leave to the apostles of Bentham and Henry George. Besides, Aristotle lived too near the East for me to accept his word on the subject of women without question. In the affairs where the services of women are of proved value to the State, let them continue, and, if you please, be extended; let women make better use of their opportunities of sharing in local government, put them on Wages Boards or Boards of Guardians.

B. But are men really competent to legislate in the interests of women, or if they are competent are they ready to do so?

F. I believe they are, but the legislation that touches the life of common people and women with them is the outcome of a moral weight of opinion that if further developed should make legislation unnecessary. We must not

look to legislation to enforce a standard wage on employers, or an equal purity for men and women: legislation will not stop the mentally deficient being exploited and abused by the offscourings of humanity. So we must, I think, discount the argument that women's interests are sacrificed because they are not generally the subject of legislation. For legislation is the confession that morality has failed.

A. Women are good Conservatives: we might do much with their help.

F. At any cost don't let us settle the great suffrage question by an appeal to tactics. Remember the consequences of the second Reform Act to the Tory Party. Toryism cannot rest on tactics, though it may on strategy, and strategy is armed principle. Even on the tactical side I do not believe that you would find women a stable Conservative force in any

country. But no tactics: our opposition is one of principle, and I take the tests that Cromwell used to apply to any burning question: necessity does not command our adherence to women's suffrage and providence, Nature, the legislator, has witnessed against it.

E. I am curious to hear what a real Tory will say about the House of Lords. Is there no room for them in your Imperial fabric? Once they were the warriors of the kingdom: then they represented the landed interest: now, perhaps, they hold a brief for the average man. But you, I suppose, will change them into something rich and strange.

F. You cannot accuse me of being a democrat, for election offers to me no more real guarantee of the representation of the electorate than birth or nomination, but still I do not think that the composition of the Second

Chamber is very material. What is material is its power. The revising habit of mind would come to an Upper House made up of younger sons, but the power to enforce revision is not so easily given or so easily won. But bear in mind the changed environment of a Second Chamber in the new Imperial government we contemplate. In that scheme, large masses of purely domestic business and problems like education or housing will never reach the Imperial Parliament, which will deal solely with the most weighty affairs of Empire—taxes, tariff, defence, government: it will be a federal Parliament, and the checks needed in the Second Chamber of a federal empire are of another character to those demanded in a unitary State. A Second Chamber, it is true, must always represent interests and not numbers, the permanent and not the transitory, but that character may vary in

degree without sacrificing its essential force.

A. I hope you will make the Upper House as powerful as the American Senate.

F. I think you can trust the essential nature of a federation to do what you want. In a unitary State there is one political system, though many orders of society : in a federal empire there is diversity, not only in social orders, but in political systems. In such an empire the first will be safeguarded in the local institutions of the several members, but the second must be entrenched in the legislature of the whole. The Second Chamber, that is, of a federal empire is there to defend the divergencies, the elasticity, the freedom of the States of the Empire. That is its object, its object determines its powers, and its powers decide its composition. You may elect or you may nominate, you may take a

term of years or a life tenure, but in that House the life of Natal must be counted as sacred as that of all Canada.

B. If you mean to set up a House of great strength, are you not afraid of a deadlock between your two Houses?

F. I do not know that it is my business to lay down *ex cathedra* the proper method of choosing the Upper House. If we agree that stability is the object of all our policy, then we may achieve it in one of two ways: we may give the Upper House very great powers or we may set up organic laws, such as every federation possesses: to do both together is so unnecessary as to be positively dangerous. For though the motive power of federation is friction, it is not friction carried to the degree of white-heat. Imagine a Lower House elected from widely scattered provinces and a Cabinet representing all the great States

of the Empire : with such instruments of government, I do not anticipate the easy injustice or the reckless uniformity that the Parliament of a unitary State has in its power to inflict. The federal legislature is of its nature cautious, for the risks are too great for a majority to abuse its power. Therefore I do not think you need leave your Upper House an absolute veto : let us have delay, but not deadlock.

B. But if the affairs of an empire are delayed two years it is as bad as absolute deadlock.

A. You say that the power of the Upper House will determine its composition, but you limit its powers severely by leaving it a suspensive veto only. How then will you compose it ? You shall not put me off with principles and leave me to apply them.

F. That is the last thing I should

expect of a party organiser. But, seriously, once the question of the relative power of the two Houses is settled, three sensible men round a table might determine the composition. Judging from American and French experience, or indeed from all the history I know, it would be the height of unwisdom to set up two Chambers both directly elected by the people. Personally, I imagine that some form of indirect election will be decided on for the Upper House, for the electoral process obeys the law of diminishing returns: the oftener you repeat it, the weaker the crop.

E. If your object is a weak Upper House, had you not better fall back on the hereditary element? Surely that obeys the same law?

F. Yes, but with more average results. An hereditary House is a House of average men, and average men cannot govern an empire. I

think you will find that indirect election is the best. And you must not make such a bogey of deadlock. You cannot build an empire on a subsoil of pessimism, or establish a right government on the assumption that all will go wrong. Let me tell you that no federation will come into being at all if the united hearts are not there to make it: if they are there, you need not legislate for union in the fear of division. But you must first win hearts. It is not only of imperial co-operation that this is true. Right through the whole fabric of government we are asking things of legislation that legislation cannot do.

The Insurance Act, the Pensions Act, Temperance Bills, all these you may support as necessary to cure immediate evils. But are the improvident taught by compulsion and at the expense of the provident? or is im-

morality uprooted by flogging procurers? I believe that no amount of compulsory morality (what an antithesis!) is worth the spontaneous and untaught virtue of one good man. You know by now that I do not dread the State's power when it is necessary, but it is the second best.

E. Things lovely and of good report, you mean, are lovelier when they are not bound up in positive law?

F. Yes, for God Almighty first made a garden, not a barrack-yard. You must have always noticed that all the great Tory writers, Burke or Bolingbroke or Coleridge, make affection of the people for the government and their institutions the sure sign of national health. When the acts of government are not forced on an unenthusiastic people, but the people approve them as though by previous concert, you have the agreement of law and society that makes the good

State. But "that which you get by force, I count as nothing."

A. How will you get this agreement ?

F. I will decentralise government that the people may really pronounce on matters for which it has a capacity, and I will educate the people that it may know its own needs and its true limitations.

B. Wasn't it Parnell who declared it impossible to set bounds to the march of a nation ?

F. That marching song of Nationality is responsible for such a trampling down of the flowers of human worth, such a plucking of the fruits of centuries of work, such plundering and wanton dissipation of the stored liberty of the world, that I can conceive no greater snare than to trust oneself blindly to the word Nationality. Let us look at the present need : the great goal of all my effort is to make political

activity, economic arrangement, and education fit into each other. A people set in an area small enough to have common economic life and large enough to enable them to appreciate and determine political questions, must be educated to fit them ior these conditions.

E. I begin to fear that you foreshadow a new Education Bill.

F. I cannot see anything more vital to my ideas. How can we abolish the evils of competition in industry and society if we leave competition as the mainstay of an educational system? In this, too, we must look back to our fathers' work. The great men who built the colleges of the Middle Ages, the public-spirited merchants who endowed the schools, did not mean that the successful alone should be educated: they gave education to all who were fit for it.

A. And do not we? Can a stoker read Burke?

F. Can a guardsman? I think you must, however, agree with me that now the higher education of the country, that which really makes man a political animal, is confined at present to two classes only—those whose parents can pay for it, and those who can thrust out and defeat a certain number of their fellow-creatures, and so enable themselves to pay for it. To those who have we give,—from those who have not, our education often takes away the primitive virtues they had. This is to stereotype the horizontal division of society, to set for ever apart the lines of the intellectually fit and unfit, to fix the process of government on an intellectual background, as though man were a creature who lived by reason alone, and as though the most model civil service on earth were worth an ounce of in-

telligent local government in ennobling men. All of this is akin to the Whig philosophy. The Whig would give the franchise to the man with a stake in the country, and that stake should be won by force.

No question of fitness came into it at all; the people for them were the classes that could make themselves felt. They transposed the wise old maxim of State and gave men what they liked, not what was good for them.

This is not our view: we say that the people who are not fit to govern their local affairs are not a people, and this fitness must rest in the first instance on the fair distribution of education.

A. I cannot see your point; surely we distribute enough money for education?

E. Far too much: universal education is the source of all evils.

F. It is not money or compulsion I ask more of,—it is opportunity. Examine Tudor Acts of Parliament, con the old registers of colleges, read the history of boroughs that are now villages in the backwoods, scan the facts of our higher education before the two University Commissions of the nineteenth century, and you will perhaps come to conclusions such as these : that there was once a stream of intellectual endeavour in England far more widely ramified than now : that, whether through the agency of the Church or of long extinct schools or through the statutory relation of colleges and schools long ago, every class was able to share in higher education to an extent now unknown, and that the sources of this education were more naturally and more wholesomely diffused. And these two hang together : a strong and real local energy, and an education neither

sectional nor crushingly uniform, but fitting and accessible, are inseparably connected. For both demand that protection, those economic walls, those political guarantees, that are part of one system. Remove the living purpose in local government and with it goes the local freedom of higher education. Not that young arch-brigand Edward VI., but the potent virtue of civic pride and energy created the older schools of England.

B. Then I suppose you would welcome the revival of local interest in education, shown by the activity of the new universities and movements like the Workers' Educational Association, as a resurrection of the Tory system ?

F. Certainly, and mark where the revival is strongest : it is in Yorkshire and Lancashire, the very districts of England that have a natural economic protection. As to any practical

measures of reform, it is probably true to say that an educational system works from below, but it must be killed from the top. So the first work is to cure the universities of the evils done by the Commissions of 1850 and 1877. Abolish the competition of the Open Scholarship system; give scholarships to schools, to localities, to trades unions; make your net so wide that all classes, all interests, all districts come into it. For the fruits of competition in education are such as they are in trade: trusts arise that defeat free competition and must be broken. By such steps you will preserve the standard of ability at the universities without having that soul-destroying competition which makes educational opportunity a matter of cramming, and successful cramming a prize of the longest purse.

A. You will revolutionise society at Oxford and Cambridge.

E. A. is afraid you may end by abolishing the boat-race.

F. A social revolution that ends there will be bloodless indeed. I have argued throughout that the evils of our time and state are not shadows, but substantial things, and that they are the products of one of the most powerful social systems known in the history of the world, of what you may roughly describe as the Whig system. Now the universities as at present constituted are part of the apparatus of that system, and they will certainly change with its downfall.

A. But you do not mean to tell me that you want the whole of university education to be eleemosynary, or that the founders of colleges ever contemplated such a thing ?

F. No, but the founders of colleges certainly stipulated a simple life for their beneficiaries ; nor did they contemplate an elaborate and organised

athletic equipment, or the setting of the standard of living by young men of means. Surely the whole social system of the older universities lies under the *mortmain* of the eighteenth century—or perhaps even the Restoration marks the beginning of its dominance. Now whatever else its virtues, the object of that academic system has not been learning, but the finishing of the gentleman. And that may be bought too dear. To make the gentleman work you have an examination system, to make him comfortable you set up a standard of living, both of which exclude humbler classes that for centuries went to the universities as the fountainhead of learning and religion.

A. You will end by pulling down the colleges.

E. Or pulling down their bills.

F. How you revert to that older system it is not my business to

elaborate, but that you must revert to it I firmly believe; and I advocate this on no grounds of equality, but because Toryism demands efficiency and fitness for function, and cannot stomach the perversion of the doctrine of leisure, which truly taught was Aristotle's greatest contribution to the art of government. For only the fit must be leisured.

E. But I have always noticed that it is the radically unfit who have most leisure in this country. How do you mean to deal with the mentally deficient and the besotted population of wastrels in the great cities? They cannot work, and one is ashamed to lock them up.

F. Once more I say you must dry the poisoned spring up at its source. It needs a shameless courage, indeed, to dare to stand up before the nation at the bar of history—indeed, I would say, to face the last great judgment

of all—and declare that in the name of individual liberty this race of worse than beasts shall be allowed to perpetuate itself till it expires only with the people it has throttled. A Tory government must act in this question with more wholesome awe: who are we with the eyes of Shakespeare, Cromwell, Chatham, on us to leave this poison free to work? Liberty to imprison posterity—is that due to the mentally deficient? Saul slew his thousands, all in the image of his Maker: yet one young man was enough to slay the Lord's anointed.

A. In the last resort, then, you look to the crew to save the ship of State?

F. The crew and all who will work their passage home. For look you, are there not enough of the signs that have been always heralds of the dissolution of empires with us now to give us pause? Towns instead of country, pasture instead of tillage, machinery

instead of men, imported food supplies and exported harvest hands, a mercenary army, a navy withdrawn from the frontier of the Empire to defend its heart, crushing taxation on the producers of wealth, doles for the non-producers, faith dim and luxury gross —are not these enough to send us to the old paths and seek the Ark of the Covenant on our knees ?

E. For we are growing grey in our Toryism, but Randolph is gone with all his vote, and where are the young Tories ? The death I fear for the Tory Party is senile decay.

F. It would be sad to think that Dizzy's and Randolph's Party was one of old men. But we want more of the next generation on our side. We cannot subsist for ever on the Conservative offspring of Liberal peers.

B. As a Party, we kill enthusiasm.

E. Yes, and stone the prophets.

F. What men and what causes have

we not lost for want of some elasticity and sympathy. Look at Meredith: with his love of the creative earth and simple people, his reverence for armed strength and efficiency, his care for the young generation. He was of the true Tory stuff. And we lost him as we lost Gladstone, because we let interests, caution, and sloth stifle native brain and strength. But we shall keep young if we speak for England.

E. Not for a class only, you mean? The Tory working-man candidate, whom the Central Office permits to stand in the Orkneys, is our nearest approach to your ideal.

F. All that must end, and the great work of our life be set out at large before the people.

E. But what can we do here and now?

F. The more every man in the country is made more fit to help himself, fend for himself, provide for him-

self, and defend himself, the larger the forces of Toryism, for pride in work and content in life are the Tory virtues. What a scope there for any Tory—to recreate a self-sufficient people ! And then we are not left desolate. Nature herself is Tory—giving the earth to be worked, ordaining that every man enjoys the work of his head and hands, showing by precept and high ensample the blessings of order and justice. The dullest, too, may see that there still survive elements of the old government of England that give ground for hope,[1]—the Crown, the Church, the Shires, the Boroughs : the notes of the old harmony, the accents of the

[1] " Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, while thousands of great cattle, reposed beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field."—Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

chant of praise still vibrate, though long since jangled and broken in dissonance.

All these good things are with us; let us resolve to set them in order again. And the blessings set for the peacemaker, for men who put the lives of the humblest above the highest dreams of avarice, for the men who will dedicate themselves and their country to the cause of order and justice, will light on us. For peace is the object of Toryism. Not the lethargy of a people of low foreheads and near horizons, nor the protected apathy of a wealth-loving city, but the peace that comes of order and wholesome life. When the Prince of Peace came to earth the shepherds found Him in a manger, and we, to be men of peace,[1]

[1] "The proposition is peace. . . . It is simple peace; sought in its natural course, and in its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought in the spirit of peace; and laid in principles purely pacific."—Burke, *Conciliation with America.*

must politically become again as children, and base our State on the simple virtues and the universal aspirations of the humblest of the sons of men.

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